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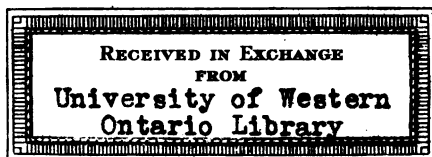
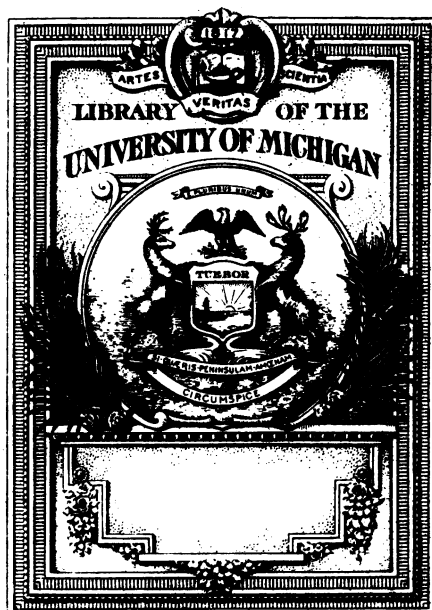
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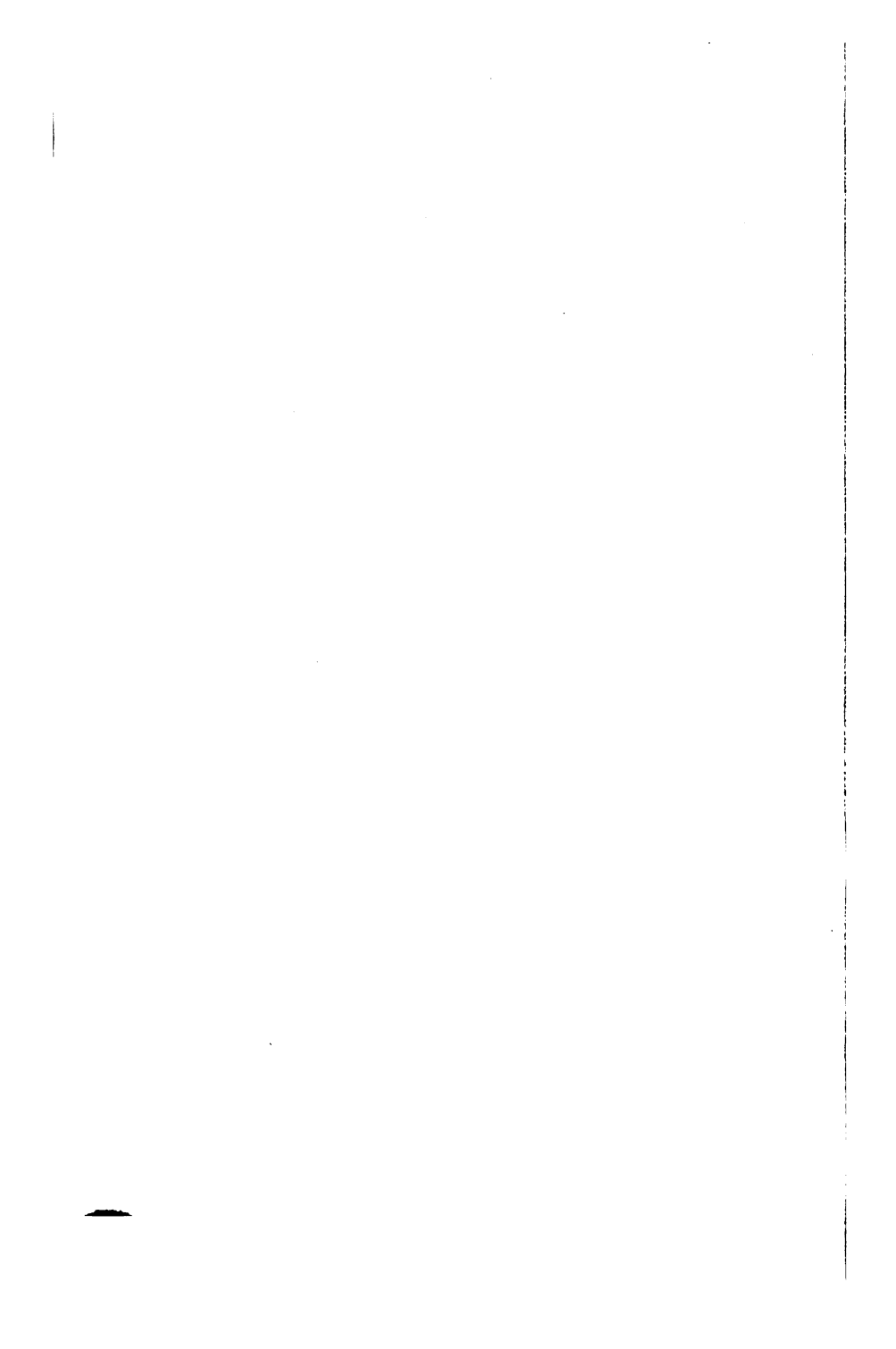
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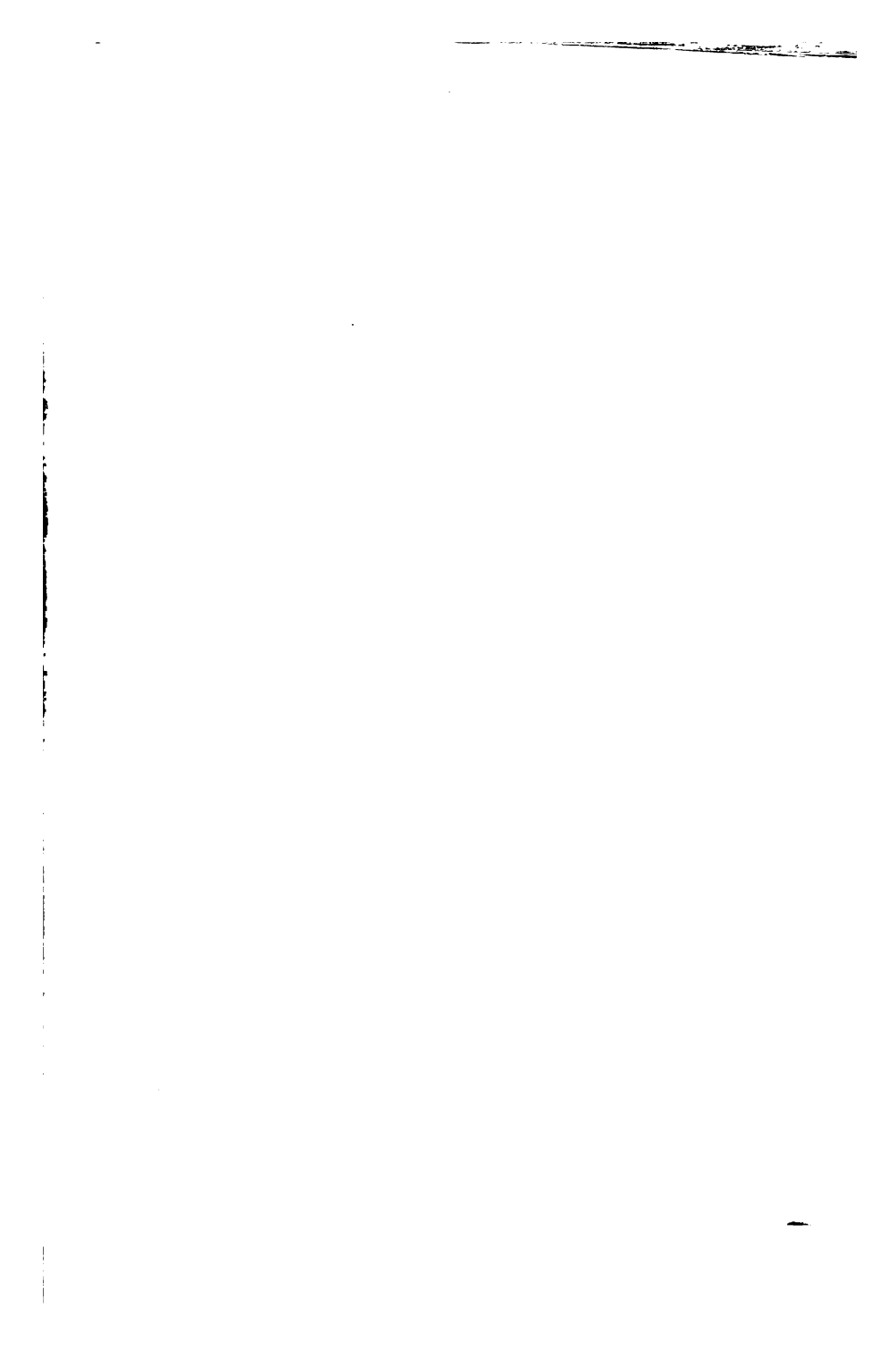
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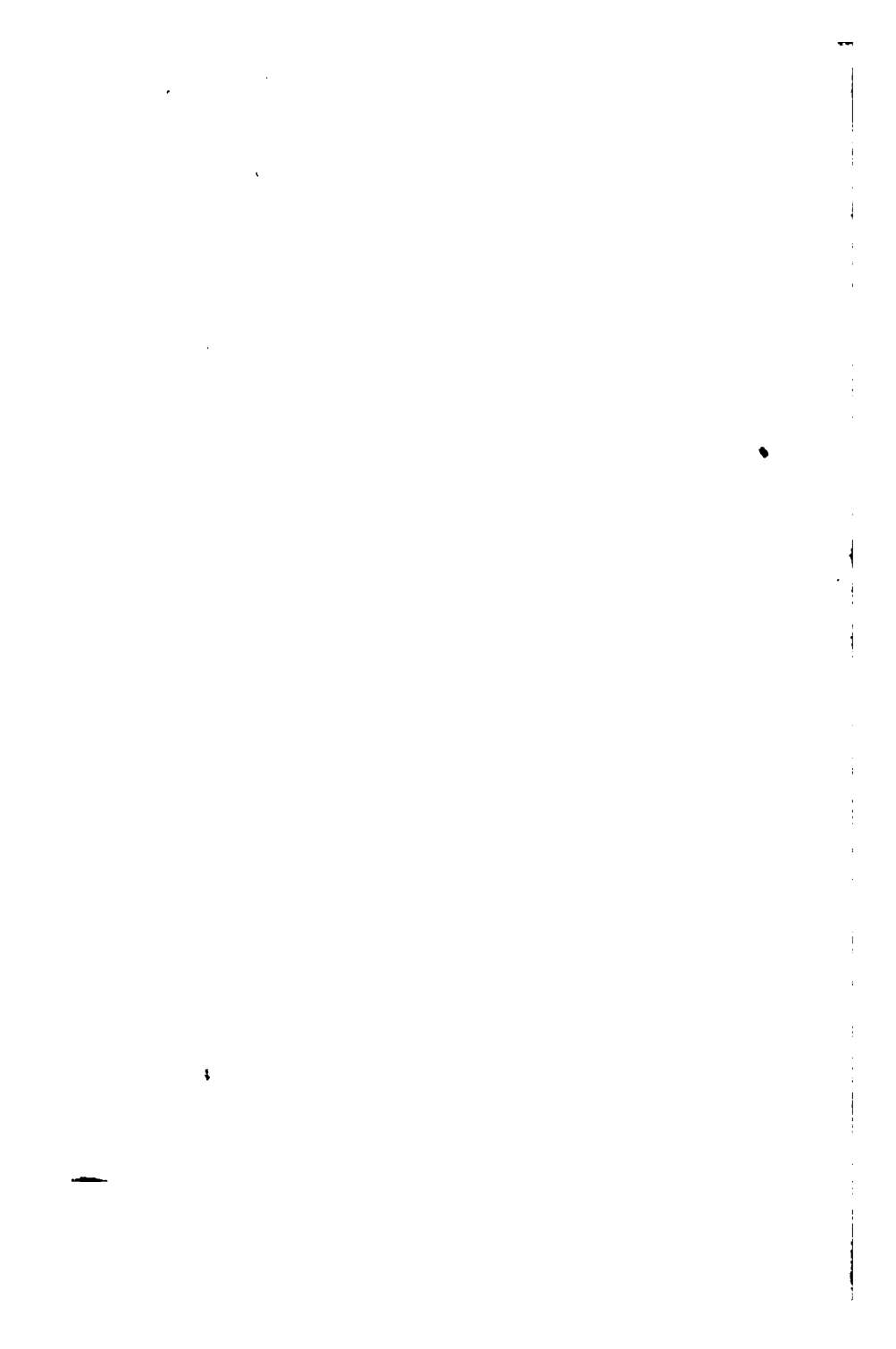
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HISTORY
OF THE
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY
OF
FRIENDS,

FROM ITS RISE TO THE YEAR 1828.

BY
SAMUEL M. JANNEY,
AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN," "LIFE OF GEORGE FOX," ETC.

*While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children
of light. — JOHN xii. 36.*

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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HISTORY

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CHAPTER I.

FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.

1660-61.

THE restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, in the year 1660, was an event of deep interest to the society of Friends, and was hailed with joy by the nation at large; for they hoped under his reign to enjoy the advantages of a stable government, and the security of law.

The king, by his courteous manners and great affability, gained the affections of the people, and soon became exceedingly popular; but, unhappily, these amiable qualities were counteracted by extreme levity of disposition, indolent habits, and licentious morals. The courtiers who surrounded him being generally disposed to imitate his deportment and encourage his vices, there was a sudden change in the manners of the court, passing from the rigid austerity of the Puritans, to the opposite extreme of gay frivolity and unblushing immorality.

There is reason to believe that the king was not disposed to be a persecutor, but, on the contrary, was

desirous to conciliate all parties, and to heal the wounds in the body politic by clemency and toleration. With this view, when about to embark for England, he issued from Breda a proclamation granting a free and general pardon to all his subjects who within forty days should publicly declare their return to loyalty and obedience, excepting only such offenders as should be excepted by Parliament.

Freedom of conscience was also promised in the following clause, viz.: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence."¹

The restoration of the king was regarded by the Friends as a remarkable interposition of Divine Providence; and at a time when there was little prospect of its accomplishment, some of them had even expressed a belief that it would take place.

Soon after the king's return, a number of queries were addressed "to the people called Quakers," with a request that their answer should be directed thus: "Tradite hanc amico Regis," that is, "Deliver this to the king's friend." This paper was supposed to be written by an eminent royalist, and probably by a member of the king's council.

The general scope of the queries was to ascertain whether any of the Friends had foreseen the king's restoration; whether they thought it right that he

¹ Besse's Suff. of Quakers, Preface VIII.

should be restored to the throne; whether he might justly forgive his own and his father's enemies; whether he might with propriety extend liberty of conscience to all the various sects; and lastly, what was their judgment concerning the state of the nation and the prospect before them, if they were not afraid to declare it; for, it was added, that many supposed the ruin of the Quakers was nigh at hand.

Edward Burrough returned an ingenuous and able answer to these questions, stating, in substance, that the king's restoration had been foreseen and openly predicted by several of the Friends,—that they believed the hand of God was in it, in order to bring down those rulers and teachers who had belied their professions by their treachery, cruelty, and hypocrisy. He further declared that he thought it right for the king to be restored, and that his reign would be blessed to himself and the nation if he walked in the fear of the Lord; but, on the contrary, it would not be blessed if he lived wickedly and sanctioned injustice and oppression. He reminded the king that his father had resorted to the sword to determine the controversy between him and the nation, and the sword having gone against him, it would be proper and just for him to forgive those who had been his and his father's adversaries.

As to Liberty of Conscience, he avowed his belief that it was the right of all men to worship God according to their convictions of duty; for “it is not given of God to any earthly king or ruler whatsoever to exercise lordship over the consciences of people in matters of faith and worship.”

And lastly, he averred that he and his fellow-believers were not afraid to declare their judgment

concerning the state of the times, for they believed the secret hand of the Lord was present in the affairs of men, and would support those who trusted in Him.

As to the Society of Friends, they were guiltless of any evil designs or practices; and if they were persecuted, it was for righteousness' sake. "We can," he says, "neither secretly flatter you to make peace with you, neither can we openly rebel against you; but as our right from God and you, we claim the liberty of the exercise of our consciences in matters of faith and a holy life towards God." "If you should persecute and destroy us, yet *our principles you can never extinguish, for they will live forever.*"¹

On the day of the king's entry into London, (29th of third month [May] 1660,) there was much rioting and drunkenness in the city. Richard Hubberthorn writing to Geo. Fox, says: "The wickedness in this city is so great that it is past expression, and everywhere in the nation it abounds as a flood; and Friends everywhere pass at the hazard of their lives and of great sufferings. Stephen Crisp hath passed through much suffering at Peterborough, Norwich, and other places, and is now at Colchester. John Moon and William Allen have been sore abused at Cambridge." "Josiah Coale is prisoner at Leicester, and put into the marshal's hands, where he is very hardly used." "Alexander Parker is prisoner at Northwich in Cheshire, and is in the marshal's hands; he was taken out of a meeting at Northwich, but the marshal is pretty loving to him. It is only the Lord's

¹ Ed. Burrough's Works, London, 1672, p. 669.

power that preserves us here in this city from the rage of the wicked, which is very high. At our meeting this day at Westminster, in the morning the people were very rude, and had almost broken the meeting; but afterwards some soldiers came and did quiet the rude people, and set a guard at the door; and so the meeting was kept quiet and ended quiet."

In another letter, dated about two months later, Richard Hubberthorn states that their meetings in London were very full and quiet, and increased daily.¹

The king having issued a proclamation to bring to trial those who were concerned in taking his father's life, he was soon after waited on by Margaret Fell, who placed in his hands a letter she had addressed to him. In this communication she reminds him how the Lord had brought him again to the throne without the shedding of blood, and therefore she desires him not to be influenced by those who would incite him to revenge; but rather to be merciful and forgive his enemies. She also besought him to be clear of all men's blood, and to let every one enjoy freedom of conscience in the worship of God.² At her intercession, in which she was also joined by others, the king ordered the liberation of about 700 Friends, who had been imprisoned under the governments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell.³

George Fox, after attending a Yearly Meeting of Friends at Balby in Yorkshire, another at Skipton in the same county, and a third, called a General Meeting, at the town of Arnside, came to Swarthmore Hall, the residence of Margaret Fell. On the

¹ Barclay's *Letters of Early Friends*, xxxiv.

² M. Fell's *Works*.

following day he was arrested and taken before Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaster. On pretence that he was a disturber of the public peace and an enemy to the king, he was committed, by Porter, to Lancaster jail. Through the solicitation of Margaret Fell and Anne Curtis, an order was granted by the king that he should be brought up to London for trial. After some delay the order was complied with, and Geo. Fox was allowed to proceed to the metropolis without a guard, he having given his word to appear before the judges of the King's Bench at the time appointed, if the Lord should permit. After taking some meetings in his way to London, he appeared accordingly, and no accuser appearing against him, the case was referred to the king, who ordered him to be set at liberty. He had been a prisoner more than twenty weeks, and having been unjustly detained, some persons in authority advised him to prosecute Porter, and others concerned; but he replied: "I shall leave them to the Lord; if he forgives them, I shall not trouble myself with them."

Richard Hubberthorn, who came to London with George Fox, had a conversation with the king, concerning which he has left the following interesting account:¹

R. Hubberthorn. — Since the Lord hath called us, and gathered us to be a people, to walk in his fear and in his truth, we have always suffered and been persecuted by the powers that have ruled, and been made a prey of for departing from iniquity; and when the breach of no just law could be charged against us, then they made laws on purpose to ensnare us, and so our sufferings were unjustly continued.

¹ Collection of R. Hubberthorn's writings, London, 1663, p. 268.

King. — It is true, those who have ruled over you have been cruel, and have professed much which they have not done.

R. H. — And likewise the same sufferings do now abound in more cruelty against us in many parts of this nation: as for instance, at Thetford in Norfolk, where Henry Fell (ministering unto the people) was taken out of the meeting and whipped; and sent out of the town, from parish to parish towards Lancashire. The chief ground of his accusation, as stated in his pass [which was shown to the king], was because he declined to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and so, because that for conscience' sake we cannot swear, but have learned obedience to the doctrine of Christ, which saith, "Swear not at all," hereby an occasion is taken against us to persecute us. It is well known that we have not sworn for any, nor against any, but have kept to the truth, and our yea hath been yea, and our nay, nay, in all things, which is more than the oath of those that are out of the truth.

King. — But why can you not swear? for an oath is a common thing amongst men to any engagement.

R. H. — Yea, it is manifest, and we have seen it by experience. It is so common amongst men to swear, and to engage either for or against things, that there is no regard paid to them, nor fear of an oath. That therefore which we speak of in the truth of our hearts, is more than what they swear.

King. — But can you not promise, as before the Lord? which is the substance of the oath.

R. H. — Yes, what we do affirm, we can promise before the Lord, and take him to our witness in it; but our so promising hath not been accepted; the

ceremony of an oath they have stood for, without which all other things were accounted of no effect.

King. — But how may we know from your words that you will perform?

R. H. — By proving of us; for they that swear are not known to be faithful, but by proving of them, and so we, by those that have tried us, are found to be truer in our promises than others by their oaths, and to those that do yet prove us we shall appear the same.

King. — Pray, what is your principle?

R. H. — Our principle is this: "That Jesus Christ is the true light which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe;" and that they were to obey and follow this light as they have received it, whereby they may be led unto God, and unto righteousness, and the knowledge of the truth, that they may be saved.

King. — This do all Christians confess to be truth, and he is not a Christian that will deny it.

R. H. — But many have denied it, both in words and writings, and opposed us in it. Above a hundred books are put forth in opposition to this principle.

Then some of the lords standing by the king said, that none would deny that every one is enlightened. One of the lords asked, how long we had been called Quakers, or did we own that name?

R. H. — That name was given to us in scorn and derision, about twelve years since; but there were some that lived in this truth before we had that name given to us.

King. — How long is it since you owned this judgment and way?

R. H. — It is nearly twelve years. . . .

King. — Do you own the sacrament?

R. H. — As for the word sacrament, I do not read of it in the Scripture; but as for the body and blood of Christ I own, and that there is no remission without blood.

King. — Well, that is it. But do you not believe that every one is bound to receive it?

R. H. — This we do believe, that according as it is written in the Scripture, that Christ at his last supper, took bread and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and also took the cup and blessed it, and said unto them, As often as ye do this, (that is, as often as they brake bread) you show forth the Lord's death till he come, and this we believe they did; for they eat their bread in singleness of heart from house to house, and Christ did come again to them, according to his promise, after which they said, "We being many are one bread, for we are all partakers of this one bread."

Then one of the king's friends said, "It is true, for as many grains make one bread, so they being many members, were one body."

Another of them said, "If they be the bread, then they must be broken."

R. H. — There is a difference between that bread which he brake at his last supper, wherein they were to show forth, as in a sign, his death until he came; and this whereof they speak, they being many are one bread; for herein they were come more into the substance, and to speak more mystically, as they knew it in the spirit.

The king's friends then said, "It is truth, and he hath spoken nothing but truth."

King. — How know you that you are inspired by the Lord ?

R. H. — According as we read in the Scriptures, that, “The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding;” so by his inspiration is an understanding given us of the things of God.

Then one of the lords said, “How do you know that you are led by the true spirit?”

R. H. — This we know, because the Spirit of Truth reproves the world of sin, and by it we were reprov'd of sin, and also are led from sin unto righteousness and obedience of truth, by which effects we know it is the true spirit; for the spirit of the wicked one doth not lead unto such things.

Then the king and his lords said it was truth.

King. — Well, of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions or religion, so long as you live peaceably; you have the word of a king for it; and I have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong you or abuse you. How do you own magistrates or magistracy?

R. H. — Thus we do own magistrates: whosoever is set up by God, whether king as supreme, or any set in authority by him, who are for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well, such we shall submit unto and assist in righteous and civil things, both by body and estate, and if any magistrates do that which is unrighteous, we must declare against it, only submit under it by a patient suffering, and not rebel against any by insurrections, plots, and contrivances.

King. — That is enough.

Then one of the lords asked, “Why do you meet

together, seeing every one of you hath the church in yourselves?

R. H.—According as it is written in the Scriptures, the church is in God, Thes. I. 1. “And they that feared the Lord did meet often together in the fear of the Lord,” and to us it is profitable, and herein we are edified and strengthened in the life of truth.

King.—How did you first come to believe the Scriptures were truth?

R. H.—I have believed the Scriptures, from a child, to be a declaration of truth, when I had but a literal knowledge, natural education, and tradition; but now I know the Scriptures to be true, by the manifestation and operation of the spirit of God fulfilling them in me.

King.—In what manner do you meet, and what is the order of your meetings?

R. H.—We meet in the same order as the people of God did, waiting upon him; and if any have a word of exhortation from the Lord, he may speak it, or if any have a word of reproof or admonition; and as every one hath received the gift, so they may minister one unto another, and may be edified one by another, whereby a growth into the knowledge of the truth is administered to one another.

One of the lords remarked: “Then you know not so much as you may know; but there is a growth then to be admitted of.”

R. H.—Yes, we grow daily into the knowledge of the truth, in our exercise and obedience to it.

King.—Are any of your Friends gone to Rome?

R. H.—Yes, there is one in prison in Rome.

King.—Why did you send him thither?

R. H.—We did not send him thither, but he found something upon his spirit from the Lord, whereby he was called to go to declare against superstition and idolatry, which are contrary to the will of God.

The king's friend said, "There were two of them at Rome, but one was dead."

King.—Have any of your Friends been with the great Turk?

R. H.—Some of our Friends have been in that country.

Other things were spoken concerning the liberty of the servants of the Lord, who were called by Him into his service, that to them there was no limitation to parishes or places, but as the Lord guided them in his work and service by his spirit.¹

Thus terminated the interview, which was most satisfactory to the Friends, inasmuch as the king renewed his promise that they should not be molested so long as they lived peaceably; but unhappily his promises, even when made in sincerity, were of little avail; for his love of pleasure and aversion to business too often frustrated his best intentions.

Some Friends were admitted in the House of Lords, or before a committee of that body, to state their reasons why they could not pay tithes, nor swear, nor attend the established church, and they were heard with moderation.²

For some months after the king's restoration, the meetings of Friends in the metropolis were mostly undisturbed; they continued to increase, and many were convinced of the doctrines declared in them.

A royal declaration was issued from the council

¹ Collection of R. Hubberthorn's writings, p. 272.

² G. Fox's Journal, I. 418.

dated 25th of October, 1660, "concerning ecclesiastical affairs," in which the king expresses his desire to compose differences, and remove abuses. In this document he again renews the assurances expressed in his declaration from Breda, "that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

The principles of this declaration were embodied in a bill which was brought into the House of Commons on the 28th of November, in the same year; "but it was negatived on the second reading, being opposed by one of the king's secretaries of state."¹ From this it appears that the king and council were vacillating in their principles, or insincere in their professions.

There can be no doubt that the bishops and most of the clergy were opposed to liberty of conscience being granted to dissenters, and that they were especially inimical to Friends, whose principles struck at the very root of their power and revenues.

The rising of the fifth monarchy men in January, [then the 11th month] 1660, afforded a pretext for the enactment of persecuting laws, which were soon after enforced with unrelenting severity.

Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, who had often conspired against Cromwell, being inflamed by a spirit of fanaticism, became the commander of a desperate band of enthusiasts, whose doctrine was, that Jesus Christ was their invisible leader to conquer and establish his kingdom on earth. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they issued from their meet-

¹ Letters of Early Friends, No. XXXVII.

ing-house to the number of about fifty or sixty men, well armed; and the city being taken by surprise, they marched from street to street with little opposition.

The mayor sent the trained-bands to disperse them, whom they quickly routed, and then withdrew from the city. Being attacked by the guards, they again returned to London, and, after committing some ravages, they retired to a house with a determination to defend themselves to the last extremity. The house was surrounded by troops, and the roof taken off; but the insurgents still refused to surrender. At length, being fired upon from all quarters, and most of them killed, the few that remained were taken prisoners. These were tried, condemned, and executed.¹

Although it plainly appeared on the trial that Venner and his company had not entered into a conspiracy with any other accomplices, but were actuated solely by their own misguided fancies, yet this absurd and criminal attempt was made the pretext for withholding those measures of clemency and toleration promised by the king.

A proclamation was issued forbidding the "Anabaptists, Quakers, and fifth monarchy men to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church or chapel, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting. All meetings in other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous, and all mayor's and other peace-officers are commanded to search for such con-

¹ Hume's Hist. England, and Neal's Hist. of Puritans.

venticles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the next sessions."¹

In this proclamation it may be observed that Friends, whose peaceable principles were well known to the government, were classed with those who had appeared in arms and committed acts of violence and bloodshed.

The insurgents, at their execution, bore testimony that the Quakers had no part in their plot, nor any knowledge of their designs.

At the time of the insurrection, George Fox was in London, and has described in his journal the commotion and violence that ensued. He was arrested at a Friend's house by a company of troopers, and conveyed to Whitehall; but through the intervention of his friend Marsh, he was set at liberty.

So great was the havoc committed by the populace and the soldiers, that it was for some weeks dangerous to go abroad. In the city many Friends were abused and imprisoned, and in the country they dragged men and women out of their houses, and some sick men out of their beds. In the county of Surrey, a large number of Friends were cast into jail, among felons; and Thomas Patchen, a man of considerable estate, was taken when sick, and hurried away twenty-five miles to prison. The fatigue of his journey, and the cruel usage he met with in the jail, so increased the disease, that he died in a few days after his commitment.²

Among those that suffered this year for their religious testimonies, was William Smith, who was imprisoned both at Worcester and Nottingham. He

¹ Neal, II. 221. G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 241.

² Besse, I. 390.

was born at Besthorp, in Nottinghamshire, and was a pastor of an Independent congregation. In the year 1658 he was convinced of the principles of Friends, and became extensively known as a minister of the gospel. He was a faithful laborer in the Lord's vineyard, and a patient sufferer "for the testimony of a good conscience."¹

In the city of Bristol, a Friends' meeting held at the house of Dennis Hollister was broken up by soldiers, and sixty-five persons arrested. Dennis Hollister and George Bishop were taken before the mayor, who used arguments and threats to deter them from attending their religious meetings; but they answered, with Christian courage, "That they might as well think to hinder the sun from shining, or the tide from flowing, as to think to hinder the Lord's people from meeting to wait upon him, whilst but two of them were left together."

The mayor ordered that all the others taken at the meeting should be imprisoned; but he gave permission to Hollister and Bishop to return to their homes. To this unrighteous decision they replied: "We seek not liberty at the hands of those who have ordered our brethren to prison, nor can it be just to commit poor men, and let us go free." They were, however, dismissed; and the next day, being sent for again, they persisted in refusing the sureties required, when Dennis Hollister was committed to prison, but George Bishop was again dismissed. He was soon after taken at a meeting held at his own house, and sent to prison, with others arrested at the same time. The whole number of Friends in prison

¹ Besse, I. 553; II. 61; and "Balm for Gilead," the writings of William Smith. London, 1675.

at Bristol amounted to about one hundred and ninety, who were strictly guarded by soldiers, and treated with much severity; but their imprisonment, at this time, was not of long duration.

In the city of Norwich a considerable number of Friends, who had been taken at their religious meetings, were imprisoned in the castle. About thirty being crowded into an apartment too small for them, George Whitehead, John Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, and William Barber, in order to relieve their brethren, agreed to occupy a little cell, or hole in the wall, called the vice. Their cell was arched over with stone, but so dilapidated, that the rains beat in upon their beds, and there being no chimney they had no other means of warming themselves in winter than by burning charcoal, the fumes of which were suffocating and dangerous. They frequently joined their friends in the larger room below, where they had many good, comfortable meetings. On First-days, especially, when several friendly persons were admitted to meet with them, they enjoyed without disturbance the privilege of worshipping God. "At that time," writes George Whitehead, "the prison became a sanctuary to us, as prisons and jails were to many of our poor, innocent, suffering Friends, when persecution was hot, and persecutors raging and roaring abroad, and we praying and praising the Lord our God in prison."¹

In Yorkshire, the number of Friends in prison for their religious testimony was very large; there being in York Castle alone, at one time, five hundred and five, of whom five died from the unhealthiness of the place.

¹ G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 245.

There being, throughout the kingdom, several thousand Friends in prison, Geo. Fox addressed to them a letter of counsel and encouragement, in which he refers to the Lamb of God, as their rock of safety, whose peaceable kingdom shall at last prevail over all. About the same time, G. Fox and Richard Hubberthorn issued "A Declaration on behalf of the people called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people." It was presented to the king, who soon after issued a Proclamation, "That no soldiers should search any house without a constable;" and at the solicitation of Margaret Fell, Thomas Moore, and others, he granted an order "that Friends should be set at liberty without paying fees."

The execution of this order afforded temporary relief, yet the meetings of Friends continued to be much disturbed, and great sufferings were inflicted upon many, both by the soldiers and the rude populace.

"There came at one time," writes Geo. Fox, "when I was at Pall Mall, an ambassador with a company of Irishmen, and rude fellows: the meeting was over before they came, and I was gone up into a chamber, where I heard one of them say 'he would kill the Quakers.' I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him. I told him the law said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth;' but thou threatenest to kill the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt. But, said I, here is gospel for thee: 'Here is my hair, here is my cheek, here is my shoulder,' turning it to him. This came so over him, that he and his companions

stood as men amazed, and said, if that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they never saw the like in their lives. I told them, what I was in words, I was the same in life. Then the ambassador, who stood without, came in; for he said that Irish colonel was such a desperate man, he durst not come in with him for fear he should have done us some mischief; but truth came over him, and he carried himself lovingly towards us, as also did the ambassador; for the Lord's power was over them all."¹

This incident, with many others of a similar character which then occurred among the Friends, shows, that "a soft answer turneth away wrath," and that the most powerful antagonist of malignity is the spirit of Christian love.

In the year 1660, Thomas Aldam, a faithful laborer in the Lord's vineyard, was called from works to rewards.

His convincement, in the year 1652, by the ministry of Geo. Fox, has already been mentioned.² He was one of the first Friends imprisoned in York castle on account of their religious testimonies. Being at a place of public worship in Warnsworth, after the sermon was ended, he uttered some words of exhortation, which were so much resented that he was committed to prison.

At another time he was fined forty pounds at York assizes for coming into court with his hat on.³ And in the same year he was imprisoned in York castle for refusing to pay tithes, and continued there two years and six months, during which time he was not

¹ G. Fox, Journal I. 420.

² See Vol. I. 114.

³ Besse, II. 89.

once permitted to go home nor to see any of his children, and sometimes not permitted to see his wife and relatives when they came to see him.

After his release, he travelled in the service of the gospel, and was often engaged in visiting Friends in prison.

When the close of life drew nigh, he set his house in order, and was favored to experience the arm of Divine Power to be near for his support. On the day of his death he called for his children, and having exhorted them to live in the fear of God, and to love and obey their mother, he departed in peace.

His wife, Mary Aldam, survived him but three months. She was a pious woman, and a true help-mate to her husband: not repining at their losses and afflictions for Christ's sake, but given up in all things to God's disposing.¹

George Fox the younger, a faithful minister of Christ, departed this life about the year 1661; but there appears to be no record of the place or precise time of his decease.² In the year 1660, he was taken at a religious meeting at Harwich, in Essex; and, being falsely accused of causing a disturbance, was committed to prison, together with Robert Grassingsham, a resident of that town. They were, soon after, brought to London, by an order of Parliament, dated the 21st of May, and confined in Lambeth Gate-house. After being detained fourteen weeks, an order was passed for their release on bail; but, large fees being demanded, they declined to come out on these terms,

¹ *Piety Promoted*, Vol. I.

² In his published Writings, London, 1665, the date of his death is not mentioned. Sewel places it in 1661, and Whiting, in his Catalogue, 1662.

and were continued prisoners until the early part of the ensuing year.

During this imprisonment, George Fox the younger addressed a letter to the King, Charles II., which is remarkable for its plain-dealing and bold admonition. "Thou hast," he says, "highly displeased the Lord God by thy suffering persecution to be enacted in thy name, even whilst thou, *in words*, hast promised Liberty; yea, many are this day in holes and prisons for the testimony of a good conscience and obeying the doctrine of Christ. Oh! the Lord is grieved with the pride and wickedness that is lived in, both *in thy family* and *dominions*; and thou thyself hast not been such a pattern and example amongst them as thou oughtest to have been."¹

This letter, being read by the King, seemed to affect him with compunction, but his brother, the Duke of York, being much incensed, advised that the author of it should be severely punished; to which the King replied, "It were better for us to mend our lives."

In a letter addressed to General Monk by the same undaunted champion of truth, he declares, "If my enemy curse, I can bless; if he persecute me, I can pray for him; if he hate me, I can love him; if I be delivered out of his hand, I can give God the glory; and this I have learned of Christ, my elder brother, who is my strength and ability, in whom I have peace, which the world cannot take away."²

This innocent and patient sufferer was ere long released by death from the power of his persecutors;

¹ Collections of Writings of George Fox the Younger, p. 262.

² Collection of the Writings of George Fox the Younger, London, 1665, p. 266.

and before his departure, though weak in body, being strong in faith, he rejoiced in the foretaste of eternal bliss, and praised God for his infinite goodness. "With much fervency of spirit, he prayed and exhorted all Friends to keep their garments unspotted from the world, because great was the day of trial that was at hand: recommending all Friends to the Lord, with his dear love to all the faithful lambs and babes of the Lord, and taking his leave of Friends, fell asleep, in perfect peace with the Lord; being in perfect memory to the last."¹

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND.

1661-63.

NOTWITHSTANDING the severe persecution to which Friends were subjected, their numbers continued to increase, and among those who about this time began to take an active part in the society, Thomas Ellwood claims our attention.

He has left a very interesting narrative of his life, affording much religious instruction, interspersed with sketches showing the manners of the age, and pervaded by a cheerful spirit.²

He was born in the 8th month, 1639, at Crowell, in Oxfordshire; being the second son of Walter Ell-

¹ Testimony at the close of his Works, p. 267.

² Life of Thomas Ellwood, N. York ed., 1838.

wood, who was descended from an opulent and respectable family. Walter Ellwood, having impaired his estate by living beyond his revenue, withdrew his son Thomas from school at an early age, before his studies were completed. After his return from school, being left much to himself, he threw aside his books, and sought for amusement in the company of jocular companions, until he "began to lose the little learning he had acquired." "Thus," he says, "I went on, taking my swing in such vain courses, as were accounted harmless recreations; but I always associated with persons of ingenuity, temperance, and sobriety, and had a natural aversion to immoderate drinking, so that, in the time of my greatest vanity, I was preserved from profaneness and the grosser evils of the world, which rendered me acceptable to persons of the best note in that country."

Walter Ellwood, during his residence in London in the time of the civil wars, had contracted a friendship with Lady Springett, then a widow, and afterwards married to Isaac Pennington; and having heard that they had come to live upon their own estate, called the Grange, at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, about fifteen miles from Crowell, he went to visit them there, taking with him his son Thomas. They were very much surprised to find that the Penningtons had joined themselves to the people called Quakers, and instead of the free courtly manners to which they had been accustomed, they were received with an air of gravity, mingled with kindness and hospitality.

"For my part," writes Thomas, "I sought and at length found means to cast myself into the company of the daughter [Gulielma Maria Springett], whom I

found gathering some flowers in the garden, attended by her maid, who was also a Quaker. But when I addressed myself to her after my accustomed manner, with intention to engage her in some discourse which might introduce conversation on the foot of our former acquaintance, though she treated me with a courteous mien, yet, as young as she was, the gravity of her look and behavior struck such an awe upon me, that I found myself not so much master of myself as to pursue any further converse with her; wherefore, asking pardon for my boldness in having intruded myself into her private walks, I withdrew." "We staid dinner, which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me but the want of mirth and pleasant discourse." . . . "We staid, notwithstanding, till the rest of their company took leave of them, and then we also doing the same, returned, not greatly satisfied with our journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with."

One good effect of this visit was, that it disposed Walter Ellwood, who was a justice of the peace, to be more lenient toward Friends when they were brought before him on account of their religious testimony. Some time afterward he went again to visit the Penningtons, accompanied by his two daughters and his son Thomas. They remained some days, and attended a Friends' meeting at a farm-house called the Grove, about a mile from Chalfont.

"To this meeting," says Thomas Ellwood, "came Edward Burrough, besides other preachers, as Thomas Curtis and James Naylor; but none spake there at that time but Edward Burrough, next to whom (as it were under him) it was my lot to sit on a stool by the side of a long table on which he sat, and I drank

in his words with desire ; for they not only answered my understanding, but warmed my heart with a certain heat, which I had not till then felt from the ministry of any man."

When the meeting was ended they returned to the Grange at Chalfont, and after supper the visitors and family, with their servants, who were Friends, all sat down in silence. They had not sat long before Edward Burrough began to speak, his subject being, "The universal, free grace of God to all mankind." This being at variance with the views entertained by Walter Ellwood, he began to make objections, and endeavored to maintain the Calvinistic "tenet of particular and personal predestination."

Edward Burrough answered in a few close and cogent remarks, and then James Naylor took up the subject, which he handled with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration, that his reasoning seemed irresistible, and Walter Ellwood was willing to drop the discourse.

Edward Burrough is thus described by Thomas Ellwood: "He was a brisk young man, of a ready tongue, who might have been, for aught I then knew, a scholar, which made me the less admire his way of reasoning. But what dropped from James Naylor had the greater weight with me, because he looked like a plain countryman, having the appearance of an husbandman or a shepherd.

"As my father was not able to maintain the argument on his side, so neither did they seem to drive it on to an extremity on their side ; but treating him in a soft and gentle manner, did, after awhile, let fall the discourse, and then we withdrew to our respective chambers."

The next morning, Walter Ellwood, his younger daughter, and his son Thomas, prepared to return home, his elder daughter having already gone in the stage-coach to London. As they were about departing, Edward Burrough accompanied them to the gate, and addressed a few words of religious discourse to each of them, according to the sense he had of their several conditions.

After they were gone, he was asked what he thought of them. He answered, "As for the old man, he is settled on his lees, and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he does not lose it."

"And surely," continues Thomas Ellwood, "that which he said to me, or rather the spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me that I felt sadness and trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ailed, but I knew I ailed something more than ordinary, and my heart was very heavy."

"By the time we got home it was night; and the next day being the First day of the week, I went in the afternoon to hear the minister of Chinner; and this was the last time I ever went to hear any of that function."

From this time forward, Thomas Ellwood had a strong desire to attend the meetings of Friends, and having learned soon after that there was to be one held at High-Wycombe, seven miles from his father's, he repaired thither. "Being come to the house," he says, "which proved to be John Rounce's, I saw the people sitting together in an outer room; wherefore I stepped in and sat down on the first void seat, the end of a bench just within the door, having my sword

by my side and black clothes on, which drew some eyes upon me. It was not long ere one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with ; his name was Samuel Thornton, and what he spake was very suitable and of good service to me, for it reached home as if it had been directed to me."

"This latter meeting was like the clinching of a nail, confirming and fastening in my mind those good principles which had sunk into it at the former. My understanding began to open, and I felt some striivings in my breast tending to the work of a new creation in me." "Now was all my former life ripped up, and my sins by degrees were set in order before me ; and though they looked not with so black a hue and so deep a dye as those of the lewdest sort of people did, yet I found that all sin, (even that which had the fairest or finest show, as well as that which was more coarse and foul) brought guilt, and with and for guilt, condemnation on the soul that sinned. This I felt, and was greatly bowed down under the sense thereof." "Now, also, did I receive a new law, (an inward law superior to the outward,) the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which wrought in me against all evil, not only in deed and in word, but even in thought also ; so that every thing was brought to judgment, and judgment passed upon all ; so that I could not any longer go on in my former ways and course of life, for when I did, judgment took hold upon me for it."

Thus was Thomas Ellwood led by the illumination of the divine Spirit to turn away from all evil, and to lead a life of self-denial, counting nothing too dear to be sacrificed for the holy cause he had espoused. Not only was he preserved from the vices and follies

prevailing in the world, but he was led in a narrow path, as regards superfluity of apparel, in which he had once taken much delight; he was also required to abstain from the use of flattering titles and insincere salutations. Having been educated in fashionable society, it was a severe trial to him to adopt the plain and unflattering address of Friends, to abstain from all compliments, and to use the singular pronoun, thou or thee, in addressing a single person. He found, that nothing short of entire obedience would secure peace of mind, and he resolved to make every sacrifice; but in the early stage of his religious experience, he was induced to believe that he might make a distinction between his father and all other persons, and therefore he continued for some time to appear before him with the usual tokens of reverence, uncovering his head, and addressing him in his accustomed manner.

At that period, he was also zealous in religious exercises, without waiting sufficiently for the ability which God giveth. "I prayed often," he says, "and drew out my prayers to a great length, and appointed unto myself certain set times to pray at, and a certain number of prayers to say in a day; yet knew not, meanwhile, what true prayer was; which stands not in words, though the words which are uttered in the movings of the Holy Spirit are very available, but in the breathings of the soul to the heavenly Father through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who maketh intercession sometimes in words, and sometimes with sighs and groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear and answer." As he advanced further in religious experience, he was taught that this "will worship" in which he had been engaged, was not profita-

ble, and he was led to wait upon God in the silence of all flesh, until he was enabled by divine grace, and from a feeling sense of his wants, to offer up the prayer of faith, which is always availing.

Being earnestly desirous to visit again his friends Isaac and Mary Pennington, he went to their residence on the Fourth day of the week, not knowing it was their meeting day. On entering the parlor, finding a few friends sitting in silence, he took a seat among them and was well satisfied with the meeting, though without words. After the meeting, he was courteously greeted by the family, and hospitably entertained. "We spent much of the evening," he says, "in retiredness of mind, our spirits being weightily gathered inward, so that not much discourse passed among us, neither they to me nor I to them offered any occasion. Yet I had good satisfaction in that stillness, feeling my spirit drawn near to the Lord, and to them therein."

Next day, he accompanied the Penningtons to a meeting at Wycombe. "It was a monthly meeting, consisting of Friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several parts of the country thereabouts, so that it was pretty large, and was held in a room of Jeremiah Stevens' house." It was a good meeting; Edward Burrough appeared in the ministry in life and power, and the assembly was covered with the canopy of divine love. Thomas Ellwood returned to the Grange, which he was the more inclined to do, because Edward Burrough was to be there, whose instructive conversation he hoped to enjoy. He was, however, somewhat disappointed; for that eminent minister of the gospel, who was of an open and affable disposition, found it his place, on this occasion, to say but little.

He was sensible that his young friend was truly awakened, and the work of God rightly begun in him; he therefore deemed it best to leave him to the guidance of that good Spirit—the counsellor that could remove all doubts—in order that his dependence might not be upon man.

The time had now come when Thomas Ellwood's faith and patience were to be subjected to a severe trial. "I now saw," he says, "by the farther openings of divine light in me, that the enemy, by his false reasonings, had beguiled and misled me, with respect to my carriage towards my father; for I now clearly saw that the honor due to parents did not consist in uncovering the head, and bowing the body to them, but in a ready obedience to their lawful commands, and in performing all needful services to them. Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I had already done in that case, though it was through ignorance, so I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein without drawing on myself the guilt of wilful disobedience, which I well knew would draw after it divine displeasure and judgment." The uncovering of the head, in token of reverence to man, was regarded by Friends as inconsistent with their Christian profession, being a mark of homage observed in public prayer, and due to none but Deity.

When Thomas Ellwood stood before his father with his hat on his head, and addressed him in the manner of Friends, it caused an outburst of passion that could not be appeased. On the repetition of the offence, the testy old man fell upon his son with both his fists, and then plucking off the hat, he threw it away. He endeavored also to restrain his son from attending the meetings of Friends, by forbidding

him the use of his horses, and sending away a horse borrowed for that purpose from a neighbor. Thomas, in no wise daunted, proceeded on foot to the meeting at Wycombe, the distance being seven miles. As he went on his way, burdened with grief, he began to consider whether he had done well in thus coming away without his father's consent. He stood awhile to reflect, and the suggestion arose in his mind, "How could that drawing be of the Lord which drew me to disobey my father?" In answer to this objection, he says, "I considered, therefore, the extent of paternal power, which I found was not wholly arbitrary and unlimited, but had bounds set unto it, so that, as in civil matters, it was restrained to things lawful, so in spiritual and religious cases it had not a compulsory power over conscience, which ought to be subject to the heavenly Father. And, therefore, though obedience to parents be enjoined to children, yet it is with this limitation [in the Lord], 'children, obey your parents, in the Lord;' for this is right." Being satisfied on this point, he proceeded to the meeting, and after it was ended, returned home with a thankful heart.

Soon after his return, on presenting himself before his father with his hat on, another explosion of violent anger ensued, blows were inflicted by the offended parent, and the obnoxious hat being plucked off, was thrown away. In this manner Thomas Ellwood lost all his hats, and being without money, he was compelled to remain at home during the winter, most of which he spent in his chamber, leading a solitary life, and finding his only solace in reading and religious meditation.

His father having been in his younger years a con-

stant hearer of the Puritan preachers, had stored up in his memory a stock of Scripture knowledge, and little as he knew of vital religion, he sometimes called his family and servants together on First-day evenings to expound a chapter to them, and pray. The servants, seeing how their master had abused his son, were reluctant to come in to family prayer, and, one evening, being more tardy than usual, they were questioned as to the cause. The answer they gave increased the displeasure of their master, who said, "Call in that fellow," (meaning his son, who was left in the kitchen); and he added, "he is the cause of all this." Thomas, who was then about twenty-one years of age, hearing what was said, came immediately into the room, and his father vented his displeasure towards him by sharp and bitter expressions. In reply he said, "They that can pray with such a spirit let them; for my part, I cannot." With that his father fell upon him with both his fists, and not thinking that sufficient, he stepped for his cane, and with it he inflicted on his unresisting son several severe blows, commanding him to retire to his chamber.

Soon after this occurrence, Isaac and Mary Pennington visited Walter Ellwood, and he was induced through their persuasion to allow his son Thomas to go and spend some time with them. After a stay of six or seven weeks he returned to his home, and thenceforth received no further abuse from his father.

Thomas Ellwood being joined in fellowship with a persecuted people, soon found, that as he had become a partner of their joys through the gospel of Christ, he must also become a partaker of their sufferings. Having met with Thomas Loe, of Oxford, whom he

highly esteemed as a minister of the gospel, he offered to obtain a place of meeting for him at Crowell if he felt freedom to accept it. He answered, "I am not at my own command, but at the Lord's, and I know not how he may dispose of me. Yet," he continued, "if the concern rests with weight upon thy mind after thy return home, and a fit place can be had for the meeting, advise me of it by a few lines directed to Oxford." Thomas Ellwood accordingly obtained the grant of a place to hold a meeting, and wrote to Thomas Loe to acquaint him with what he had done.

It being about the time of Venner's insurrection, Thomas Loe and about forty other Friends were imprisoned at Oxford Castle, and the letter was intercepted by the agents of the government. To appoint a meeting at such a time, they affected to regard as a dangerous proceeding, and a party of mounted soldiers was sent to arrest Thomas Ellwood.

On his examination by the Justices, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, which he conscientiously declined to take, and on that ground he was sentenced to imprisonment. He was, however, not sent to prison with the other Friends, but placed in charge of the city marshal, who kept him at his house and treated him kindly. This lenient course towards him, was probably adopted in consideration of his father's standing as a justice of the peace; but such was the love of Thomas Ellwood for his Friends, that he would gladly have exchanged his situation for a place in the Castle with his imprisoned brethren. While thus restrained of his liberty, he was greeted with kind and consolatory letters from Thomas Loe and Isaac Pennington, the latter of whom was then a prisoner in Aylesbury jail.

Thomas Ellwood being permitted, by the kindness of his keeper, once to visit his friends imprisoned in the Castle, gives the following account of their social intercourse. "Our salutation to each other was very grave and solemn, nor did we entertain one another with much talk, or with common discourse; but most of the little time I had with them was spent in silent retiredness of spirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet before we parted, we imparted one to another some of the exercises we had gone through." From this we may infer, that they endeavored to comply with the apostolic injunction, "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt;" yet there is in Thomas Ellwood's narrative, abundant evidence that he was of a buoyant spirit, and that the Friends with whom he associated were generally cheerful in the midst of their many afflictions for Christ's sake.

He was not long a prisoner in Oxford, being liberated, as he supposed, through the influence of his father.

Thomas Ellwood, having, since he became a Friend, applied himself to study, recovered the knowledge that he had before lost from neglect; and through the intervention of his friend Isaac Pennington, he obtained, in the year 1661, the situation of reader for John Milton. This celebrated poet, who was one of the most learned men of his age, and formerly Secretary of State under Cromwell, was at this time living in close retirement in London, and being blind, he always kept a man to read to him. The person thus employed was generally the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve in his learning. Thomas Ellwood gladly availed himself of this opportunity to acquire knowledge

under so great a master, and resorted to his house daily, where he read aloud such classical works as were selected by Milton, and listened to his instructive remarks.¹ It may be owing to this intercourse with the great poet, that Ellwood became one of the best prose writers among the early Friends; but his attempts at poetry were by no means successful. He wrote several books on religious subjects, and was a useful member of the Society of Friends, as will appear in the further progress of this work.

In the year 1661, the Society of Friends received a valuable accession in the conviction of Giles Barnadiston of Clare, in the county of Suffolk. He was born in the year 1624, of parents "well descended, and of considerable account in the world."² His parents intended him for the ministry, and sent him to the university, where he remained six years. But although he was thought to be qualified for a teacher of religion, and was promised preferment, he felt conscious that he was deficient in religious experience; and dreading the responsibility of taking upon him the ministerial office, he declined to accept of the place provided for him.

During the civil war he entered the army, and held a colonel's commission; but the violence and bloodshed attendant on a military life being repugnant to his feelings, he resigned his post and retired to private life. He now began to apply his heart to wisdom, and besought the Lord to guide him in the way of heavenly truth.

At that time his residence was in the county of Essex, where there were many Friends, and he being

¹ T. Ellwood's Life, New York, 1838, pp. 15 to 77.

² Jno. Whiting's Memoirs, 53; Gough, II. 549.

desirous to become acquainted with their principles, invited some of them to his house. George Fox, the younger, being then at Colchester, paid him a visit, and entered into discourse with him "concerning the light of Christ Jesus, who had tasted death for every man, and enlightened them that they might have life;" which agreeing with the Scriptures, and with Giles Barnadiston's own experience, he embraced the truth, frequented the meetings of Friends, and became united with them.

In the year 1663, the Friends residing in Colchester and its vicinity were exposed to great sufferings on account of their religious testimonies; bands of soldiers being sent to break up their meetings, fell upon them furiously, and beat them unmercifully, without respect to age or sex. Giles Barnadiston willingly bore his part in this storm of persecution, in the hottest of which he constantly attended religious meetings at the hazard of his life.

In the year 1669, he removed to Clare, in the county of Suffolk, the place of his birth; about the same time he appeared as a minister of the gospel, and was made instrumental in gathering many to the fold of Christ.

Among the many inconveniences and sufferings to which Friends were subjected, about this time, on account of their religious testimonies, one was the disposition manifested in some quarters to call in question the validity of their marriages. According to the English law then in force, "Marriages might be adjudged void when solemnized without license or publication of banns in the church of the parish where the parties dwelt, in time of divine service, three several Sundays or Holy days, and if the cere-

mony were performed before a less number of witnesses than two besides the minister."¹ During the civil war marriages were frequently performed by justices of the peace; and after the restoration of the king, an act was passed by which such marriages were declared valid.²

By neither of these methods did the Friends feel satisfied to have their nuptials solemnized, because they looked upon marriage as a divine ordinance, and believed that God only can rightly join men and women in that solemn covenant. They could find no warrant in the Scriptures, either under the Mosaic law, or the Christian dispensation, for priest or magistrate to perform the nuptial rite.

As Boaz took Ruth to be his wife in the presence of the elders and people of Bethlehem, so did the Friends, by a simple and touching rite, take each other in marriage before the congregation of the people, and in the presence of the Lord. It was a bold proceeding to dispense with priestly services, and legal sanctions, in the delicate and responsible matter of marriage; but being led by a sense of religious duty, they were willing to encounter all the obloquy that ensued.

As early as the year 1652, George Fox issued a paper advising Friends about to proceed in marriage, "that they might lay it before the faithful in time, before any thing was concluded; and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found clear, being free from all others, and their relations satisfied, they might appoint a meet-

¹ Edinburgh Encyc. Article Law, Vol. XI. p. 776.

² 12 Car. II. c. 23.

ing on purpose, for the taking of each other, in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses.”¹ When monthly meetings for church discipline were established, the care of having marriages solemnized with propriety and order was entrusted to them; and never, perhaps, among any people, were greater precautions taken to insure publicity, and to guard the rights of all concerned. Their method of proceeding, after the establishment of a regular Discipline, will hereafter be noticed.

In the year 1661, a case occurred in which a Friend's marriage was called in question, and a legal decision obtained. William Ashwell and Anne Ridge, persons of good repute, being disposed to take each other in marriage, published their intentions three several days in their religious meetings; and subsequently in a solemn assembly at Lincoln, in the 8th month, 1658, they took each other to be husband and wife during life; and from that time lived very affectionately together, nearly two years. The man being then taken sick, made a will devising to his wife all his personal estate, with house and land during life, and after her decease to descend to his child.

After the death of the testator, his child was born, and being recognized as heir to the land, its mother was appointed its guardian. She was subsequently married again, and then a relative of her first husband brought suit for the land, alleging that the child was not legitimate, because the marriage was not according to law.²

The case was to be tried at Nottingham Assize, and while it was pending, a Friend, named Martin Mason,

¹ Journal II. 73.

² MS. Letter of Martin Mason, dated Lincoln, 1661.

addressed to Judge Archer and Judge Atkins, an able plea in behalf of the defendants. After relating the manner in which the marriage was accomplished, and the subsequent proceedings, he thus continues: "The marriage solemnized as above written, we are many of us ready to testify *viva voce*, in open court, though the tenderness of our consciences admits not of an oath; and though perhaps the marriage suits not punctually with the formality of the law of the nation, yet the end or substance of the law being truly answered, the literal part or formality thereof ought in good conscience to be suspended or superseded, and the marriage held legitimate; otherwise, this strikes at the root of religion, and infringes the liberty of tender consciences."¹

After the arguments of counsel on both sides had been heard, Judge Archer instructed the jury, saying, "There was a marriage in Paradise when Adam took Eve, and Eve took Adam, and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. 'As for the Quakers,' he said, 'he did not know their opinions; but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as Christians; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir.' And the better to satisfy the jury, he cited a case to this purpose: 'A man that was weak of body and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and declared before witnesses, that he did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question, and all the bishops concluded it to be a lawful marriage.' The jury on receiving this charge, gave

¹ MS. Letter of M. Mason.

their verdict for the Friend's child, and against the man that would have deprived it of its inheritance."¹

About this time occurred the first instance, on record, of a difference in sentiment among Friends, leading to open disunity. It originated with John Perrot, who, with a companion named John Love, went to Leghorn, where they were taken to the Inquisition, and, after being examined, were dismissed. They then went to Venice, and thence to Rome, where they bore their testimony against idolatry in such a public manner, that they were taken into custody. John Love died in the prison of the Inquisition, "not without well grounded suspicion of being murdered there;" and John Perrot was confined in their Bedlam, or hospital for the insane. During his detention there, he occasionally sent over an epistle to be printed in England, written in such an affected and fantastic style, as might have induced an indifferent reader to believe they had suited the place of his confinement to his condition."² One of his papers sent from Rome, and printed in London, is entitled: "A Wren in the burning bush waving the wings of contraction, To the congregated clean Fowls of the Heavens, in the Ark of God, holy Host of the Eternal Power." As a specimen of the bombastic style, this little tract of fifteen pages has seldom been equalled.³

¹ G. Fox's Journal, II. 5.

² T. Ellwood's Life, p. 116. Besse, II. 395. Sewel, I. 318.

³ A part of this tract is in rhyme, and doubtless the following lines were afterwards verified in J. P.'s experience:

"Ah! Sion, Sion! thy most glorious life
Is all to me, my joy, I am thy wife;
And therefore, if I should make slight of thee,
Then all thy good would be a sting to me;

In his writings he affected the apostolic style, signing himself "John, the prisoner of Christ;" and at the close of one of his epistles to Friends, he says, "Send this forward and read my life in your meetings."

After an imprisonment of a year or more, he was, at the solicitation of Friends in England, and through the mediation of a person of note, released, and permitted to return to his own country. It is remarked by Thomas Ellwood, that "The report of his great sufferings at Rome, (far greater in report than in reality,) joined with a singular show of sanctity, so far opened the hearts of many tender and compassionate Friends toward him, that it gave him the advantage of insinuating himself into their affections and esteem, and made way for the more ready propagation of that peculiar error of his, of keeping on the hat in time of prayer, as well public as private, unless they had an immediate motion at that time to take it off."¹

This innovation, which George Fox calls "an evil and uncomely practice," proceeding from "delusion,"² was calculated to take hold of inexperienced minds among a people who believed themselves called to bear a testimony against all formality in religion. The uncovering of the head in time of public, vocal prayer, was, however, regarded by the more experienced members, not as a mere formality, but as an

Then would my bow against me sorely bend,
And all my darts into my body send,
And all the pointed arrows in my quiver
Would sorely stick fast in my heart and liver."

Printed for Thomas Simmons, London, 1660.

¹ T. Ellwood's Life, 116.

² Journal II., 4.

appropriate practice that prevailed in the primitive church, and was sanctioned by the apostle Paul.¹ They considered, moreover, that they had suffered much for not taking off their hats in the presence of rulers and magistrates, and that one of the reasons assigned for their refusal was, that this is an act of homage due only to the Almighty, and to be paid him by the congregation in time of public prayer, as well as by the minister while engaged in preaching the gospel.

George Fox, Wm. Dewsbury, and other deeply concerned Friends, seeing that Perrot and his followers were likely to be drawn off from the great work of religion,—the sanctification of the heart,—into vain jangling and evil surmises against their brethren, endeavored by Christian admonition to prevent the spreading of that contentious spirit.

In an epistle written by George Fox in 1661, he says, “The first that got up into this posture of keeping on their hats in prayer, against Friends, were the Ranters. The next was J. N. [Naylor], but he quickly, by the power of the Lord, saw it and judged it: and the next was J. Perrot, whose end was according to his work, and so will those that continue in it. For the power of God is over them, and their dark, earthly spirit.”²

Among those who were, for a short time, captivated in this snare, were two worthy and eminent men, Richard Davies and Thomas Ellwood, who have left on record emphatic testimony against the delusion.

Richard Davies writes in his Journal, “About the year 1663 or 1664, I went to London, and found some

¹ 1 Cor. xi., 4.

² G. Fox's Epistles, CCXIV.

there separated from that love and unity which I had formerly seen them in, joining in that spirit with John Perrot, who was newly come from prison at Rome to London, as it was said, with much seeming humility and lowliness of mind. A considerable company joined together with him, where they had me among them for a little time. The tendency of that spirit was, to speak evil of Friends that bore the burden and heat of the day, and so to cry out against Friends as dead and formal. They expected a more glorious dispensation than had yet been known among Friends, and they kept on their hats in time of prayer. I was but a little while among them till a veil of darkness came over me, and under that veil I came to have a light esteem for my dear and ancient friend George Fox, and some others who had been near and dear to me. But it pleased the Lord to rend that veil of darkness, and to cause the light of his countenance to shine again upon me, whereby I came to see the doleful place I was led into, by a spirit that tended to nothing else but self-exaltation, and (under a pretence of humility and self-denial) breach of that unity, love, and fellowship that formerly we had together, and the good esteem we had one of another in the Lord.”¹

Thomas Ellwood, after relating how he was taken with this error, “in the time of his infancy and weakness of judgment as to truth,” gives an account of a memorable meeting held in London by appointment of George Fox, “for the restoring and bringing in again of those who had gone out from truth, and the holy unity of Friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrot.”

¹ Account of R. Davies, Philadelphia, 1770, p. 132.

He says, "When that solemn meeting was appointed in London, *for a travail in spirit on behalf* of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the unity of the body again, my spirit rejoiced, and with gladness of heart, I went to it, as did many more of both city and country, and with great simplicity and humility of mind, did honestly and openly acknowledge our out-going, and take condemnation and shame to ourselves. And some that lived at too remote a distance in this nation, as well as beyond the seas, upon notice given of that meeting and the intended service of it, did the like by writing, in letters directed and openly read in the meeting, which for that purpose was continued many days." Thus in the motion of life were the healing waters stirred, and many through the virtuous power thereof restored to soundness, and indeed not many lost."¹

John Perrot was not among those reclaimed, but continued to recede from the principles of Friends until he made shipwreck of the faith; thus fulfilling the prophetic declaration of George Fox, that those who continued in that spirit should become as "the corn on the house-top," blasted before it be grown up.² Perrot emigrated to America, where he gave much trouble to Friends, and having obtained a post under the government, he became a rigid exacter of oaths.³

In the year 1663, the society of Friends had to mourn the loss of one of its most efficient ministers, in the removal by death of John Audland. His successful labors in London and Bristol, in company with

¹ Life of T. Ellwood, 117. This meeting was held in 1666.

² G. F. Journal, II. 4., and Is. xxxvii. 27.

³ Sewel, I. 358. Gough, I. 516.

his endeared friend John Camm, have already been mentioned. After the decease of his faithful associate, he continued to travel much as a minister of the gospel, his service being chiefly about Bristol and in the Western counties of England, where many were convinced of the doctrines he preached.

About three weeks before his death, he was taken with a hectic fever accompanied with a distressing cough, though he still looked well, for he was of a ruddy complexion. Being greatly beloved by Friends and others, he was visited during his sickness by many, to whom he spoke in a very instructive and touching manner concerning the things that pertain to the kingdom of God. He would often be raised upon his knees in bed, to supplicate the Lord in behalf of his whole heritage, and that he would prosper his work in the nations around. It was supposed that his health and strength had been impaired by the labors and sufferings he endured for the cause of truth, and he would sometimes say, "Ah! those great meetings in the orchard at Bristol, I may not forget; I would so gladly have spread my net over all, and have gathered all, that I forgot myself, never considering the inability of my body; but it is well, my reward is with me, and I am content to give up and be with the Lord, for that my soul values above all things."

During his sickness he was often engaged in ascribing praises to God, whose good spirit he felt to be with him, filling his heart with heavenly joy. In the full assurance of eternal rest, he was released from the trials of time, in the first month 1663, being about 33 years of age.¹

¹ T. Camm's Testimony, Memory of the Righteous Revived, London, 1689.

His widow, Ann Audland, had been for some years highly esteemed as a minister of the gospel, and her religious labors had been blessed to many. In the year 1666, she was married to her second husband, Thomas Camm, son of John Camm, and they both lived to old age, beloved and honored for their many virtues and their services in the church.

CHAPTER III.

TRAVELS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

1661-63.

THE efforts of the English Friends to spread their religious principles in foreign lands continued to manifest the earnestness of their devotion, and the meekness of their spirits, under circumstances of great privation and suffering.

Katherine Evans and Sarah Chevers, married women, much esteemed among Friends, feeling a religious concern to travel in the East, embarked at London in a ship bound for Leghorn. Having arrived in that city, they remained some time, and their company being sought by every variety of people, they had much religious service. There they took passage in a Dutch ship bound for Alexandria in Egypt; but the vessel touched at Malta, and remained some days in that harbor. On the First day of the week they went ashore, where they met with the English consul, who asked them their object in coming, and being informed of their religious con-

cern, he warned them of their danger from the Inquisition, and kindly invited them to his house. They accepted his invitation, and during that day they were visited by many, to whom they preached repentance and amendment of life. At night they went on board the ship, and next day they again went into the city, where meeting with the governor, he told them he had a sister in the nunnery, who desired to see them. Accordingly, they went to the nunnery, where they conversed with the nuns, and gave them a book. One of the priests being there, took them into the chapel and wished them to bow to the high altar, but they refused, and returned to the consul's house, where they stayed about three months.

Being sent for by the Inquisitor, they appeared before him, and were interrogated concerning their husbands and children, and their motive for coming to that distant country. They answered: "We are the servants of the living God, and were moved to come and call the people to repentance." They were again summoned before the Inquisition by an officer bearing a black rod, when their examination proceeded as follows:¹

Inquisitor.—Have you changed your minds yet?

Friends.—Nay, we should not change from the Truth.

Inquisitor.—What new light is that you talk of?

Friends.—It is no new light, but the same the prophets and apostles bore testimony to.

Inquisitor.—How came this light to be lost ever since the apostles' time?

¹ Besse, II. 400.

Friends.—It was not lost: men had it still in them, but they did not know it, by reason of the night of apostasy that had overspread the nations.

Inquisitor.—If you will change your minds, and comply with our directions, you should say so; but otherwise we will use you as we please.

The Friends replied, "The will of the Lord be done;" upon which the Inquisitor withdrew and left them in charge of the officer with the black rod and the keeper of the prison, who conducted them to a cell having only two small holes for light and air; but their hearts were so filled with peace and joy, that they thought "the glory of the Lord shone round about them."¹

Some days afterwards, they were further examined by a magistrate and two friars, accompanied by the bearer of the black rod. The magistrate would have had them to swear, but they declined, and referred to Christ's prohibition, "Swear not at all." He asked them whether they believed in the creed? They answered, "We believe in God, and in Jesus Christ, who was born of the virgin Mary, suffered at Jerusalem under Pontius Pilate, arose again from the dead on the third day, ascended to his Father, and shall come to judgment, to judge both quick and dead." He inquired, "How they believed concerning the resurrection?" They replied, "We believe the just and the unjust shall arise, according to the Scriptures." "Do you believe in the saints and pray to them?" "We believe in the communion of saints, though we do not pray to them, but to God only, in the name of Jesus Christ." "Do you believe in the

¹ Besse, II. 400.

Catholic Church?" "We believe in the true church of Christ, but the word catholic we have not read in the Scriptures." "Do you believe in a Purgatory?" "No, but in a heaven and a hell."

The friar now interposed, and examined them as follows:

Friar.—We are commanded to pray for the dead; but those who are in heaven have no need, and for them that are in hell there is no redemption; therefore there must be a purgatory. Do you believe in our holy sacrament?

Friends.—We never read the word sacrament in the Scripture.

Friar.—Where you read in your bibles sanctification, it is sacrament in ours. Our holy sacrament is bread and wine, which we convert into the flesh and blood of Christ, by the virtue of Christ.

Friends.—You work miracles then; for Christ's virtue is the same as it was when he turned water into wine at the marriage of Cana.

Friar.—If you do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of God, you have no life in you.

Friends.—The flesh and blood of Christ is spiritual, and we do feed upon it daily, for that which is begotten of God in us, can no more live without spiritual food, than our temporal bodies can without temporal food.

Friar.—You never hear mass.

Friends.—We hear the voice of Christ. He only has the words of eternal life, and that is sufficient for us.

Friar.—You are heretics and heathens.

Friends.—They are heretics that live in sin and

wickedness, and such are heathens that know not God.

Friar. — Who is the head of your church?

Friends. — Christ is our head.

Friar. — What is George Fox?

Friends. — He is a minister of Christ.

Friar. — Did he send you?

Friends. — No, the Lord moved us to come.

Friar. — You are deceived, and have not the faith, even though you had all the virtues.

Friends. — Faith is the ground whence virtues proceed.

Friar. — If you will take our holy sacrament you may have your liberty, or else the pope will not release you for millions of gold; but you will lose your souls and your bodies too.

Friends. — The Lord hath provided for our souls, and our bodies are freely given up to serve Him.

Friar. — Do you not believe marriage is a sacrament?

Friends. — It is an ordinance of God.

Friar. — Do you believe men can forgive sins?

Friends. — None can forgive sins but God only.

Friar. — The Scriptures say, “Whose sins ye remit on earth shall be remitted in heaven.”

Friends. — All power is God’s, and he can give it to whom he will; they that are born of the Eternal Spirit, and guided by the same, have power to do the Father’s will.

Wherein have we wronged you, that we should be kept prisoners all the days of our lives? Our innocent blood will be required at your hands.

Friar. — I will take your blood upon me, and your journey into Turkey too. The pope is Christ’s vicar,

you are of his church, and what he does is for the good of your souls.

Friends.—The Lord hath not committed the charge of our souls to the pope, nor to you, for He has taken them into his own possession. Glory be to Him for ever!

Friar.—You must be obedient.

Friends.—We are obedient to Christ's Spirit.

Friar.—None have the true light but the Catholics; the light you have is the spirit of the devil.

Friends.—Woe to him that calleth Jesus accursed. Can the devil give power over sin and iniquity? Then he would destroy his own kingdom.

Friar.—You run about to preach, and have not the true faith.

Friends.—The true faith is held in a pure conscience void of offence towards God and man.

Friar.—There is but one faith, either ours or yours. Which is it?

Friends.—Every one has the true faith that believes in God and in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; but they that say they believe and do not keep his commandments are liars, and the truth is not in them.

Friar.—That is true.

Here the interview ended; but the Friar came repeatedly to question them concerning their faith, urging them to take the sacrament, and seeming by his menacing language to thirst for their blood.

The cell in which they were imprisoned was so close and hot that it seemed beyond endurance. They often rose from their beds to lie at the chink of the door in order to draw breath; their skin became parched with heat; the hair fell from their heads, and they frequently swooned away.

So great was their distress, that when it was day they wished for night, and when night came they wished for day; they desired death, but it came not; they eat their bread with weeping, and mingled their drink with tears.¹

They wrote to the Inquisitor maintaining their innocence, and their fidelity to apprehended duty. "If it is our blood you thirst for," they said, "you may as well take it in any other way as to smother us in this hot room."

The only answer they received was an order sent to the friar to take away their inkhorns. Their Bibles had previously been taken from them.

Katherine was told, that, on account of her weakness, she should go into another room, but her companion should remain in the cell. She replied: "I choose rather to die here with my friend, than to part from her." The friar then left them, and during five weeks the door of their cell was not opened. During all that time the heat of the cell was excessive, which seemed "to come not only from without, but from within also," and was, doubtless, produced by artificial means, in order to torment the prisoners. At length an order was sent to separate them, but Katherine was ill, and her skin was covered with an eruption, probably caused by the heat. A physician was brought, who said the prisoners must have air, or else they would die. Permission was then obtained from the Inquisitor for the door to be set open six hours in the day.

A small scourge, made of hemp, being brought, they were asked if they would use it, and they were told the friars sometimes whipped themselves till the

¹ Besse, II. 402.

blood came. They replied, that such an instrument could not reach the devil, for he sat upon the heart. Continual efforts were made by the officers of the Inquisition, to shake the constancy of these meek confessors of Christ; sometimes they were tempted with promises of honors and rewards, if they would only conform to the Romish ritual; and these being found unavailing, they were threatened with the severest penalties—imprisonment in chains during life, and eternal torments after death.

After being nine months imprisoned together in that suffocating cell, they were separated from each other; and then, by questioning them apart, and carrying reports from one to the other, the inquisitors endeavored to ensnare them, and induce them to renounce their principles. The subtle arts and cruel measures of their tormentors were alike ineffectual; the patient sufferers remained steadfast in their faith, being supported by an abiding sense of the divine presence, and often refreshed with draughts of consolation from the river of life.

To promote their comfort, or obtain their release, several efforts were made by their countrymen. A poor Englishman, who had been taken from the Turks and induced to become a Catholic, hearing that Sarah Chevers was in an upper room, with a window next the street, took the pains to climb up and speak to her. For this act of kindness he was imprisoned, and threatened with an ignominious death.

Francis Steward, the captain and owner of a ship from London, solicited the release of the prisoners, and was aided in this work of mercy by an Irish friar. Accompanied by the English consul, they went to the governor, the grand inquisitor, and several magis-

trates. All were willing to release them, except the inquisitor, who said they could not be liberated without an order from the pope. The captain told the prisoners, with tears in his eyes: "It is the inquisitor who detains you, because you have preached among the people." They replied: "The truth that we have testified among them, we shall stand to maintain with our blood." He said, if they could be released, he would freely give them a passage home in his vessel, and he offered them money. They replied that his love was as well accepted of the Lord as if he had carried them; but they did not feel free to accept his money.

Daniel Baker, an English Friend, being at Leghorn, went to Malta to visit them. Having obtained admittance to the grand inquisitor, he addressed him in Italian as follows: "I am come to demand the just liberty of my innocent friends, the two Englishwomen in prison in the Inquisition." The inquisitor asked him: "Whether he was related to them as a husband or kinsman? And whether he came out of England on purpose with that message?" He answered, that "he came from Leghorn for that end." The inquisitor replied: "That they should lie in prison till they died, except some English merchants, or others that were able, would give bonds for three or four thousand dollars, that they should never return thither." His solicitation was several times repeated, with the same result; and during twenty days that he remained on the island, he frequently visited the prisoners at the hazard of his life. He administered to their necessities, received from them letters for their friends in England; and although daily threatened with the inquisition, and followed

by its officers, a peculiar providence seemed to attend him, by which he was preserved.

The papers committed to the care of Daniel Baker, consisted of a letter from each of the sufferers to her husband and children, and several letters to their friends; all expressive of tender affection, and evincing an unshaken trust in God. In a joint letter addressed to Friends in England, they say: "Dearly beloved Friends, did you but know the third part of the afflictions the Lord our God hath carried us through, you would say, the Lord has wrought as great a miracle in our preservation, as he did in raising Lazarus out of the grave. And in the greatest of our afflictions, we could not say in our hearts, Father, we would thou hadst not brought us here! but we cried mightily to our God for power to carry us through whatsoever should be inflicted upon us, that the truth of our God might not suffer through our weakness. And the Lord heard us, and answered us in righteousness, and carried us on with all boldness, and made our foreheads as flint in the faces of our enemies; that whensoever we were brought forth upon trial all fear was taken away, that we stood as iron gates and castle walls in the faces of our enemies, so that they said: 'We would fain be burned;' but we answered: 'No, we would not willingly be burned; but if our Heavenly Father doth call us to suffer in that manner for his name's sake, he will give us power to go through it.' And we have great cause to believe it, for our Lord God never called us to do any service for him, but he gave us power, and made way for his own work. Glory and praise be to his holy name forever!"¹

After these two Friends had been in the prison of

¹ Besse, II. 414.

the Inquisition upwards of three years, George Fox and Gilbert Latey were informed that Lord d'Aubigny, who came to England with the Queen-mother, and was almoner to her, had great influence with the government at Malta. They forthwith waited upon him, were courteously received, and obtained from him a promise that he would endeavor to effect the release of their friends. Some time afterwards when they again called upon him, he informed them he had received letters from Malta, and their friends were at liberty.¹

On the release of Katherine Evans and Sarah Chivers, they remained eleven weeks at the house of the English Consul at Malta, and they were received on board an English frigate, the officers of which treated them with kindness, and conveyed them to their native country.

Daniel Baker, who so generously exposed himself to imminent danger for the relief of his friends, was a minister of the gospel, who, in company with Richard Scothrop, John Stubbs, and Henry Fell, travelled to Leghorn on a religious mission. From that city the two last named Friends went to Alexandria in Egypt, while Baker and Scothrop went eastward for Smyrna and Constantinople. "Wherever they came they boldly preached the doctrine of the universal light of Christ, exhorting all to a faithful obedience thereunto, that they might come to witness salvation from sin, and a real conversion of their souls to God."² This testimony, although not offensive to the Turks and Jews, was received by the professors of Christianity, in those parts, with scorn and indignation. From Smyrna a message was sent to the English ambassa-

¹ Journal of G. F. Life of G. Latey, 55.

² Besse, II. 418.

dor at Constantinople, beseeching him to expel them out of Asia. He accordingly addressed an order to the English consul at Smyrna, requiring him to stop them from proceeding further, and to ship them either directly for England, or to any other port to which they chose to embark. This warrant was immediately executed, and about eight days afterwards they arrived at Zante, where Richard Scothrop was taken sick and died. Daniel Baker returned to Leghorn, and went thence to Malta, as already related. After leaving that island he returned to England, where we find him imprisoned for his religion, among other Friends, in Newgate, the 18th of the 5th month, 1662.

John Stubbs and Henry Fell, on arriving at Alexandria, embraced every opportunity to spread their religious principles, and for this purpose they distributed tracts in Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin. They were, however, not long permitted to proclaim the truths of spiritual religion in that benighted land, but were banished from Egypt through the interference of their own countrymen.¹

In the year 1662, two English Friends, John Philly and William Moore, being in Germany, felt a religious concern to visit the Hottersche brethren, who lived about a day's journey from Presburg, in Hungary. These brethren were a kind of Baptists, who lived in a community, having their goods and possessions in common, and who bore a testimony against war and oaths.

The two Friends having reached one of the communities, near Cushart, preached among them and distributed religious books, which were well received. On inquiry they heard of another community at a

¹ Besse, II. 420.

city called Pattock, in Upper Hungary, a distance of three hundred miles; but they were warned of the dangers that would attend a journey thither, and advised to confine their labors to the district of country where they then were. William Moore was inclined to comply with this proposal, but John Philly believed it his duty to go forward; his companion, who was better acquainted with the language of the inhabitants, consented to share the dangers of the journey with him. They proceeded to Presburg, and thence toward Comora. On their way, seeing a boat on the Danube conveying meal to the garrison at Newhausel, they endeavored to obtain a passage, it being on their way toward Pattock. The boatman inquired whether they were acquainted there, or were provided with a pass, and they answering in the negative, he told them it would be extremely dangerous to travel to that country, it being tributary to the Turks; and at Newhausel they would also be in peril of their lives, for at that garrison they usually put those to death who were found in the tributary ground without permission.

John Philly, being still desirous to proceed, they continued their journey till they came near Comora, and lodged at the house of an Hungarian; but they and their host not being able to understand each other, a student from the college was sent for, with whom William Moore conversed a little in Latin. The student, on taking his leave, wished them well, but said there was a vast difference between his sentiments and theirs in relation to religion.

Comora is in Schut, an island in the Danube, and in order to reach it they made signs to a boatman, offering him money to carry them over. An old

Dutchwoman, seeing the boatmen making ready to take them, said that "the governor would presently cause him to be hanged if he took them over." They then returned to their lodgings; but the next day William Moore found means to cross the river on the south side of the town, taking with him some books, which he hoped to find an opportunity of sending to Pattock. He met with a soldier, and was taken before a captain, who asked him if he was a Quaker. He answered in the affirmative, and the captain being in a passion, exclaimed, "These rogues show no respect." Turning to William, he said, "You are a young Huss, come forth to seduce the people and to make uproars." He then caused William to be stripped and searched, took his money from him, and put him in irons. Having learned that he had a companion on the other side of the river, they sent over for him, and both were soon incarcerated in separate prisons, John being placed in a vaulted cell where the instruments of torture showed the dreadful purpose to which it had been appropriated.

On the following day they were examined by the inquisitor, who asked them whence they came? whither they were going? who sent them? and what money they had taken up? John was searched and his money taken; William was interrogated concerning the books he had brought, and was told "It was a capital crime, that would cost him his life." He answered, "What I have done therein, I have done in simplicity."

At a subsequent examination, William Moore was asked by the inquisitor "whether he did not know that the Catholics had laws to burn and torment heretics who carried such books?" He replied, "I

should not have expected such dealing among good Christians."

A book of George Fox, concerning the apostasy of Christendom, being produced, the inquisitor was much excited, saying: "How are we apostatized? and how can that be proved?" "Friend," said William Moore, "it becometh not a spiritual man to be so furious, but gentle, meek, and peaceable." The inquisitor then, in a more moderate tone, asked him concerning the sacrament. He replied: "The flesh profiteth little, it is the spirit that quickeneth." The inquisitor being little acquainted with the Scriptures, said to a priest: "Sir, father, how is that?" After a little reflection, the priest answered: "I do remember there is such an expression." William being urged by the inquisitor to become a Catholic, replied: "If I should do so through fear or favor of you, the Lord not requiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable than yours. Compulsion may make hypocrites, but cannot change the heart."

During eight days they were subjected to frequent examinations, and every expedient used to ensnare them in their answers; but nothing being proved against them, preparations were made to subject them to torture on the rack. The inquisitor, two other officers, the marshal, and the executioner, being present, William Moore was arraigned before them.

"William," said the inquisitor, "in order that you may not think that we deal with you as tyrants, we will lay it before you, that you may tell what you know in time; for if you be racked, you will be but a miserable man, and must have your head cut off besides."

“I know of no evil that I have done,” he replied, “nor have I any in my heart against you.” The inquisitor read a few lines, purporting to be from the emperor Leopold, requiring them to be racked in order to ascertain their intentions; and then the executioner placed upon William’s thumbs an iron screw, which he turned so as to produce excruciating pain, bidding him, at the same time, “tell out.” The screw was then slackened, and turned again still harder; but that not availing, the executioner was directed to place him on the rack. The prisoner’s wrists being tied together behind his back with a cord, which was passed over one of the rounds of a ladder, he was drawn up some distance from the floor. His ankles were tied together, a billet of wood was placed between his feet, and by means of a rope his body was drawn quite from the ladder. At the first pull his left arm gave a crack, and was dislocated. Then the cord being slackened, the joint was replaced by the executioner.

During this agonizing process the sufferer was asked many questions, but he steadfastly adhered to the truth; and when at length he confessed, “It was for the love of their religion that they came to that country,” the inquisitor, thinking this was crime enough, caused the executioner to desist, but threatened to repeat the torture at another time.

John Philly was subjected to the same agonizing tortures by the screw and on the rack; but he protested his innocence, and made no confessions.

It would be painful, and perhaps unprofitable, to enter further into the details of the cruelties inflicted by those inhuman bigots, who, under a pretence of zeal for religion, gratified the malignity of a corrupt

hierarchy. The history of such persecutions is chiefly instructive as a warning against the insidious wiles of priestcraft, and an encouragement for all to place their reliance upon the arm of Divine Power, which sustained the innocent sufferers in their greatest need.

After the Friends had been five weeks at Comora, they were set to work with wheelbarrows, and at the end of sixteen weeks they were sent in irons three days' journey, to the viceroy of Hungary, called "Lord Francis of Nadasti." Being brought before the viceroy, who was attended by the archbishop and some of the nobility, the prisoners were interrogated concerning their religious principles, which they openly avowed and defended. Little was said to them by way of argument, but sentence was passed upon them, that they should be burned if they would not embrace the Romish religion. "We have a law," said the judge, "which tolerates but three religions—the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic; and whoever brings a new religion here is to be burned."

They were, next, sent to a prison, within five German miles of Vienna, where they were kept in irons, interrogated by priests, and threatened with another examination by torture. Notwithstanding their sufferings from the tight manacles on their wrists and the dreadful doom that appeared to await them, they slept soundly, and trusted in the Lord for deliverance. At a time when the priests were seeking to discourage them, William Moore, while sitting and musing upon their situation, said, in his heart, "Lord, help us! What will be the end of this? Will they have power to murder us here?" While thus en-

gaged he seemed to sleep, and had a vision of a man clothed in white, sitting on a milk-white horse, and riding in haste towards him, as if coming to his rescue. "Then I looked up," he writes, "and was pretty much comforted, thinking it was from the Lord, to encourage me, lest I should be too much cast down. And the very same day there came tidings from the Earl, that he was displeased at what they had done."¹ It does not appear who this Earl was; but in Wm. Moore's narrative, he informs us, that Adam Bien, the Earl's barber, had been educated among the Hortesche brethren, and hearing from the Earl some account of the imprisoned Friends, whose defence of their principles he was allowed to read, he became much interested for them. He and his wife obtained permission to visit them; and, being convinced of their doctrines, he offered to become surety for them, and to keep them at his own house. This privilege he obtained from the Earl; but the Friends did not accept his kind offer, choosing rather to remain in prison, under a persuasion that by this means the public authorities, feeling burdened with the responsibility of their imprisonment, would be induced the sooner to release them.

After passing through many perils and severe afflictions, during which they were wonderfully sustained by divine aid and enabled to bear witness to the truth among a benighted people, they were, in the year 1663, delivered from their persecutors, and permitted to return to their friends.²

About the same period there occurred a very remarkable instance in which the peaceable nature of

¹ Besse, II. 428. W. Moore's Letter to W. Caton. ² Ib. 432.

Christ's kingdom was illustrated, and the protecting arm of divine power made manifest, in the deliverance from the Turks of a ship navigated by Friends. Before narrating this transaction, it will be proper to notice the religious experience and conviction of Thos. Lurting, the chief agent concerned in it.

He had, some years before, been boatswain's mate in a ship of war, and in many imminent dangers had been mercifully preserved. On board the ship in which he served there was, for a short time, a soldier who had been at a Friends' meeting in Scotland, and there were two young men in the ship who had conversations with him, that resulted in their being in some measure convinced of Friend's principles. These two young men declined attendance on the chaplain's services, and did not put off their hats to the captain, which caused them to be called Quakers. They often met together in silence, and others began to meet with them, which displeased the captain and exasperated the chaplain, who said to the boatswain, "O Thomas, an honest man and a good Christian! there are dangerous people on board: the Quakers are a blasphemous people, denying the ordinances and the word of God." This had such an effect upon Thomas, that he began to beat and abuse the unresisting little band that met together in silence. He soon found, however, that his own peace of mind was disturbed; his many deliverances through divine mercy were brought to his view; his heart was softened, and he could no longer engage in acts of persecution. Among those who were called Quakers, there was one named Roger Dennis, for whom Thomas Lurting had so great an esteem that he never struck or abused him. To him, therefore, Thomas was drawn to open his heart,

and the affectionate counsel he received confirmed his religious impressions. — Although it was a sore trial to him to be identified with those who were objects of contempt and derision, he felt bound, on the next First-day, to take his seat with the silent worshippers, for which he was censured by the officers and chaplain. He persevered, however; and others following his example, their little meeting was within a few months increased to twelve men and two boys, one of whom was the chaplain's son:

At length the ship's crew were visited by sickness: forty of them died in a short time; and those called Quakers had the disease, but none of them died. They took great care of each other when sick, and whatever one had was free to all; so that others among the sick would say, when on their death-beds, "Oh, carry me to the Quakers! for they take care of one another, and they will take care of me also." The captain's feelings towards Thomas and his friends were softened; he began to confide in them, allowed them a place to meet in, and when any difficult or dangerous service was required to be done, he often selected them to perform it. They had not yet seen it wrong to fight; but when engaged with others in annoying their enemies, they took none of the plunder; and they fought so valiantly, that the captain said, he cared not if all his men were Quakers.

The ship was sent to Barcelona to take or burn a Spanish man-of-war. While they were engaged in battering a castle, Thomas went into the fore-castle of the ship, and having levelled the guns, he said to his comrades, "Do not fire till I go out and see where the shot strikes, so that we may level higher or lower." As he was leaving the fore-castle, this question was

suddenly presented to his mind; "What if now thou killest a man?" It "struck him like a thunderbolt," and believing it was a divine intimation, his purpose was immediately changed, so that he would not, for the whole world, have taken the life of a human being. He walked upon the deck, and being under great exercise of mind, some one asked him if he was hurt. He answered, "No; but under some scruples of conscience on account of fighting." He did not then know that Friends bore a testimony against war.

When, at night, the action had ceased, and the ship was withdrawn from the castle, Thomas asked his friends what their sentiments were in relation to fighting. They had little to say, but gave him to understand, that "If the Lord sent them well home, they would never engage in it again." He told them, that if he stood faithful to the voice of God in his own conscience, and they came into an action to-morrow, he would, with the Lord's assistance, bear his testimony against it; for he clearly saw that inasmuch as they had been so active in fighting, they must now bear their testimony against it, and wait what would be the issue. They replied, "The will of the Lord be done."

Some time after, one of them went to the captain to be discharged, and being asked why, he answered that he could fight no longer. To which the captain rejoined; "I will put my sword into him that refuses to fight in an engagement." "Then," said the Friend, "thou wilt be a man-slayer, and guilty of shedding blood." For this admonition, the captain, who was a Baptist preacher, beat him severely with his fist and cane.

Afterwards, being on a cruise near Leghorn, one

morning they espied a large ship bearing down upon them, which they supposed to be a Spanish man-of-war. Orders were given to clear the ship for action, and Thomas saw clearly that the time of their trial was now come. His mind being turned to the Lord for guidance, he conferred with his friends, and encouraged them to be faithful. "I lay no injunction upon any one," he said, "but leave you all to the Lord. I must tell you, however, that the captain puts great confidence in you, therefore let us be careful that we give no just occasion of reproach; and let all who are of my mind meet in the most public place upon the deck in full view of the captain, that he may not say we deceived him, in not telling him that we would not fight, so that he might have put others in our room."

He then went on deck, and stood with his back against the capstan, his friends being ranged behind him. Presently, a lieutenant said to one of them, "Go down to your quarters." He answered, "I can fight no more." The lieutenant then reported to the captain, saying, "Yonder, the Quakers are all together; I do not know but they will mutiny; and one says he cannot fight." The captain immediately went to him, and seizing his hat, he flung it overboard; he then beat him with a cane, and taking him by the collar, dragged him down to his quarters. Returning on deck, the captain called for his sword, which being brought, he drew it in a furious manner. At this juncture, Thomas Lurting, under a sense of religious duty, said to his friend Roger Dennis, "I must go to the captain." The reply was, "Be well satisfied in what thou doest." He accordingly advanced to meet him, as he came with his drawn sword, and Thomas

fixing his eyes intently and seriously upon him, the captain's countenance changed to paleness, and turning round he called for an attendant to take his sword. It was soon after discovered that the approaching ship was not an enemy, and before night the captain sent the chaplain to Thomas Lurting, asking him to excuse him. Thus was the violence of passion overcome by the meekness of a Christian spirit, and Thomas Lurting, being no longer available as a warrior, was permitted to return to his home.

His trials, however, were not yet ended; for being a mariner, he was several times pressed into the king's service, and taken on board ships of war; but he always adhered steadfastly to his principles. Once he fasted five days, taking only at times, a draught of water; because, being unwilling to enter the service, he deemed it his duty to refuse the diet. On another occasion, being taken into the cabin of a ship-of-war, the captain was very abusive to him, while Thomas, keeping his mind turned to the Lord, said but little. At length the captain, wearied with railing, said to him, "What, do you say nothing for yourself?" He meekly replied, "Thou sayest enough for thee and me too." At night the captain retired to his berth, but he could not sleep; his mind was disquieted; and calling aloud, he said, "Where is the Quaker?" Thomas being aroused from his slumber, said, "Here I am; what lack you at this time of night?" He was told to come to the captain immediately. On his going to the cabin-door, the captain asked, "Is the Quaker there?" "Yes," replied Thomas. "I cannot sleep," said the captain, "you must go on shore." "I am in thy hand," rejoined Thomas, "and thou mayst do with me as thou pleasest."

He was accordingly put on shore at Harwich, by order of the captain, who, in his anger, had said that hanging was too good for him.¹

In the year 1663, Thomas Lurting was serving as mate of a ship commanded by a Friend named George Pattison; and while sailing in the Mediterranean near the island of Majorca, they were chased by a Turkish or Algerine cruiser.² The English ship being a good sailer, they hoped to escape by superior speed; but carrying too much canvas, the rigging gave way, and the Turks overhauled them. Captain Pattison and four of his men were taken aboard the Algerine ship, leaving the mate, with three men and a boy, who were guarded by fourteen of the Turks. Thomas Lurting was brought under great exercise of mind; but turning his thoughts to that Almighty Protector who had so often succored him, he received from "the word of life" the comforting assurance, "Be not afraid; for all this thou shalt not go to Algiers." Having full faith that this was a divine intimation, all fear was taken from him, and he treated his captors as though they had been his friends. He advised his crew to follow his example by obeying the Turks with diligence, and he encouraged them to hope for deliverance. The alacrity with which the mate and his men appeared to serve, induced their captors to leave them unbound, and some of the Turks returned on board their own vessel, leaving but ten to guard the English ship. Then Thomas Lurting, being much encouraged, said to one of his men, "Were but the master on board, and the other four men, I should not fear if there were twice as many Turks;" and his earnest prayer was, that the Lord would put it into

¹ Sewel, II. 53 to 59.

² Thos. Lurting's narrative in G. Fox's Works, Vol. VI., p. 88.

the hearts of their captors to return them. To their great joy, that was done; and now the English crew being all on their own vessel, they began to think how they might best effect their deliverance. One of them said to the mate, "I will kill one or two;" another said, "I will cut as many of their throats as you desire." Thomas being grieved at this, said to his men, "If I knew one of you would attempt to kill any of the Turks, I would tell them myself. If you will be ruled by me, I will act for you; if not, I will be still." They promised obedience, and he directed them to serve the Turks with diligence, which would probably induce them to leave the English crew together.

Captain Pattison, although a very bold man, was at first opposed to any effort being made for deliverance, lest there should be bloodshed. At last the mate told him they were resolved to make the attempt, and he believed it could be effected without shedding one drop of blood; for he would rather go to Algiers than to kill a Turk. The master then consented for them to do as they would, provided they killed none. At night, the weather being very foul, Thomas Lurting persuaded one of the Turks who was on deck to go down and lie in his berth; then he induced another to go below and take some rest; until at last, they were all under deck and asleep. He then took their arms, secured the companion-way, and steered the vessel for Majorca.

In the morning one of the Turks was permitted to come on deck, and when he saw that, instead of approaching Algiers, they were near Majorca, his spirit sank within him. Being suffered to go below, he informed his companions of their situation, at

which they were all struck with consternation, and begged that they might not be sold into slavery. As the ship was to touch at Majorca, the captain and mate being apprehensive that the Spaniards would take their prisoners and enslave them, contrived a place in the hold to hide them. While they lay in port an English captain of their acquaintance coming on board, the master and mate mentioned to him, in confidence, the capture of the Turks, and that they hoped to restore them to their homes. He told them the Turks were worth two or three hundred *pieces of eight* apiece, and he would like to have two or three of them to take to England. They declined to comply with his wishes, and he, looking upon them as fools for refusing to sell their prisoners, informed the Spaniards, who threatened to take them out of the ship.

Captain Pattison and his mate, on receiving this information, called up the Turks, and told them they must help to get the ship out of port, or the Spaniards would take them. They worked resolutely, and the vessel was soon under way. During four days the Turks were left at liberty, but then they attempted to rise, which the mate foresaw and prevented without injury to any. He then told the master it would be well to go near the Barbary coast, for by that means they would be more likely to miss the Algerine cruisers, and might find an opportunity of putting the Turks ashore. After some days' sailing they came within six miles of the coast, at a point about fifty miles from Algiers, and the weather being calm, they determined to land the prisoners. To do this safely required much caution. To give them the boat would be dangerous, for they might get men

and arms, and retake the ship; and to put half on shore at a time, they might raise the country and capture those who should come with the other half. Thomas Lurting undertook to convey them in the boat with the help of two men and a boy. He directed the captain of the Turks to seat himself in the boat's stern, then calling another, he placed him in the captain's lap; next he placed one on each side, with two others in their laps, and in this manner they were all seated so as to prevent a sudden rising. Thomas Lurting sat in the bow with a boat-hook in his hand, and the two men who rowed the boat had near them a carpenter's adze and a cooper's heading knife. These were all their arms, except those of the Turks, which were also in the boat. When they drew near the shore, one of the rowers exclaimed, "Lord have mercy on us, there are Turks in the bushes." The prisoners, observing that some of the English were afraid, all rose at once. The mate bade his men take up such arms as they had, but not to use them till he gave them leave. Then seeing that there were no men in the bushes, he thought to himself, "It is better to strike a man than to cleave his head," and turning the boat-hook in his hand, he struck the Turkish captain a smart blow, bidding him sit down, which he did instantly, and so did the rest. When they came to shoal water, the Turks were ordered to jump out and wade ashore, which they did; then the boat being brought nearer, their arms were thrown to them, and a small supply of provisions given them. Before the Turks left the boat, they all embraced Thomas Lurting very affectionately, and invited him and his men to go with them to a town about four miles distant, promising

them refreshments, but they declined, and joyfully bade them farewell.

Intelligence of this extraordinary transaction reached England before the ship's return, and when she was passing up the Thames, the king, with the Duke of York and several lords, being at Greenwich, came alongside in a barge, and inquired the particulars, which were related to him by Thomas Lurting. When he heard how the prisoners were set free on the coast of Barbary, he said, "You have done like a fool, for you might have had good gain for them; you should have brought them to me." "I thought it better," said Thomas, "for them to be in their own country." The king smiled, and took his leave.¹

The deliverance of Captain Pattison and his crew from the hands of the Algerines without the effusion of blood, illustrates most strikingly the protecting care of that Almighty Father who never fails those that trust in him; and it exemplifies, in like manner, the principles of peace and good-will to men, as taught in the precepts and example of Christ. It may be thought by some, that in striking the Turk with a boat-hook to enforce obedience, Thomas Lurting departed from his peaceable principles, but it should be remembered that the early Friends did not object to the exercise of sufficient coercion to restrain the wicked from the commission of crime—they did not profess absolute non-resistance—but they believed man has no right whatever to take the life of his fellow-man, and hence they bore a decided testimony against war of every kind, and under all circumstances.

¹ T. Lurting's narrative in G. Fox's Works, Vol. VI. p. 88 to 92, and Sewel's History, II. 64.

CHAPTER IV.

BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.

1661-66.

WHEN the tidings reached England that four ministers of the society of Friends had been put to death in Boston on account of their religion, and that others were in prison, it excited much public attention, and produced among the members of their own communion a deep sense of commiseration.

George Bishop had recently published the first part of his work called *New England Judged*, detailing some of the cruelties inflicted upon Friends in Massachusetts; and Edward Burrough had written a conclusive answer to the petition addressed to the king by the general court of Boston, in which the rulers of that colony had endeavored to justify their conduct by misrepresenting the doctrines and practices of Friends.¹ It was believed that these works, describing the enormities committed in New England, were read by the king, and prepared his mind for a favorable reception of Edward Burrough, who soon after obtained an audience, and said to him that "There was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all." The king answered, "But I will stop that vein." Then Burrough desired him to do it speedily, "for we know not," said he, "how many may soon

¹ E. Burrough's Works, London, 1672, p. 756.

be put to death." The king replied, "As speedily as you will." And turning to one of his attendants, he said, "Call the secretary, and I will do it presently." The secretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough again waited on the king to desire that the business might be despatched, when he was informed that the government had no occasion at that time to send a ship thither; but the king remarked that, if the Friends would send one they might do it as soon as they could. E. Burrough then asked the king if it would please him to grant his commission to one called a Quaker to carry his mandamus to New England. The king answered, "Yes, to whom you will." The name of Samuel Shattock was then mentioned, an inhabitant of Massachusetts, who had been banished on pain of death. Authority was accordingly given for him to carry the mandamus, which was as follows:

"CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects, amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented to us) are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in their behalf for the future, and do hereby require that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein, but that you forthwith send the said persons

(whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences laid to their charge, to the end that such course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign,

By his majesty's command,

WILLIAM MORRIS."

The superscription was :

"To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esq., and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations in New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are or hereafter shall be, and to all and every the ministers and officers of our said plantations and colonies whatsoever, within the continent of New England."¹

In order that there might be no unavoidable delay, the Friends chartered a ship, of which Ralph Goldsmith, one of their members, was master, to sail, with or without goods, in ten days. After a passage of six weeks, then considered a prosperous voyage, they arrived in Boston harbor on the first day of the week. Some of the citizens coming on board to inquire for letters, the captain informed them that he had letters, but would not deliver them on that day. On their return to the city they reported that the ship was full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock, who had been banished on pain of death, was among them.

Next morning, Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy,

¹ Sewel, I. 346.

accompanied only by the captain, landed and proceeded directly to the governor's house. They knocked, and a man being sent to know their business, they answered, "that their business was from the king of England, and they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself."

On being admitted to the governor's presence, he ordered Shattock's hat to be taken off; but after reading the commission and mandamus, he took off his own hat, and ordered Shattock's to be restored. Governor Endicott then going to consult Bellingham, the deputy governor, requested the two Friends to accompany him. After the consultation, the governor said to Samuel Shattock: "We shall obey his majesty's commands."¹

The master of the vessel then returned on board, and gave permission to the passengers to come on shore, which they gladly did; and in conjunction with Friends in the town, they held a religious meeting to offer up praise and thanksgiving to the Author of all good, for this signal evidence of his protecting care.

There being several Friends then in prison, the General Court issued the following order:

"To William Salter, keeper of the prison at Boston:

"You are required, by authority and order of the General Court, forthwith to release and discharge the Quakers who are at present in your custody.

"See that you do not neglect this.

"By order of the Court,

"EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

"Boston, 9th December, 1661."

¹ Sewel, I. 347.

This order was not in exact accordance with the mandamus, which required that the prisoners should be sent to England for trial; but, doubtless, the rulers of Massachusetts were aware, that, in their proceedings against the Friends, they had exceeded the limits of their charter; and, therefore, it would have been dangerous to risk an appeal to England.

The General Court being apprehensive that they had incurred the king's displeasure, determined to send a deputation to England to plead their cause, and propitiate the royal favor. They first sent Colonel Temple as a special messenger, to inform the king that they had set the Quakers at liberty; and he was soon after followed by a deputation, consisting of John Norton, a minister of Boston, who had been one of the chief instigators of persecution, and Simon Broadstreet, a magistrate who had been concerned in those sanguinary measures.

The deputies, on their appearance at court, endeavored to clear themselves and the authorities of Massachusetts from all blame; and it was observed that Norton, the Puritan minister, "bowed no less reverently before the Archbishop than before the king."¹ The same spirit that had been haughty and vindictive towards the meek confessors of spiritual religion, showed itself to be cringing and obsequious before the incumbents of power.

The Address of Massachusetts signed by Governor Endicott, and presented to the king, in the year 1661, is replete with fulsome professions of loyalty, which we have every reason to believe were insincere. Thus they speak of Charles II. as "the best of kings, who to other titles of royalty common to him *with*

¹ Sewel, I. 354.

other Gods amongst men, delighted herein more particularly to *conform himself to the God of Gods*, in that he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, neither hath he hid his face from him, but when he cried he heard." Again, they say: "Your title to the crown enthroneth you in our consciences, your graciousness in our affections; that inspireth us unto duty, this naturalizeth unto loyalty: thence we call you Lord, *hence a Saviour*." ¹

When we contrast this fawning address with the bold, straightforward epistles of George Fox, and other Friends, reproving the monarch for his sins, we perceive the difference between the fruits of the spirit of Christ, and those of the spirit of Antichrist.

While the deputies were in London, George Fox and other Friends had several interviews with them. Norton endeavored to excuse himself, alleging that he did not participate in those bloody deeds; but John Copeland, whose ear was cut off at Boston, being in London, came forward and charged him with being concerned in them.

Broadstreet was more truthful, and admitted his participation in putting the Friends to death.

George Fox then asked the deputies whether they acknowledged themselves to be subject to the laws of England? And if they did, by what law they put those Friends to death? They replied that they were subject to the laws of England, and they had put the Friends to death by the same law as the Jesuits were put to death in England.

George Fox.—Do you believe those Friends whom you put to death were Jesuits, or jesuitically inclined?

¹ Massachusetts Records, 7th August, 1661, quoted in Tyson's Address. Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa., IV. Part II. p. 60.

Deputies. — No.

George Fox. — Then you have murdered them. If you put them to death by the law that Jesuits are put to death here in England, and yet confess they were no Jesuits, it plainly appears you have put them to death in your own wills without law.

Broadstreet. — Do you come to catch us ?

George Fox. — You have caught yourselves, and may justly be questioned for your lives. If the father of William Robinson were in town, he would probably question you and bring your lives into jeopardy.

Some of the Royalists were earnestly desirous for the Friends to prosecute the deputies; but Geo. Fox replied: "We leave them to the Lord to whom vengeance belongs, and he will repay it."¹ William Robinson's father, who was not a Friend, came to London with a view to institute an inquiry concerning the execution of his son, and the deputies hearing of it, became apprehensive that they were in danger of a prosecution.

They therefore returned to Massachusetts, where it was said they met with a cool reception. "Whether," remarks the historian Neal, "they flattered the court too much, or promised more for their country than they ought, is uncertain; but when Norton came home, his friends were shy of him, and some of the people told him to his face that he had laid the foundation of the ruin of their liberties; which struck him to the heart, and brought him into such a melancholy habit of body as hastened his death."²

¹ G. Fox's Journal, and Sewel's Hist.

² Quoted by Bowden, I. 242.

The liberation of all the Friends from Boston prison seemed to indicate that there would be a cessation of persecution ; but the respite was of very short duration ; the temper of the ministers and magistrates was not changed, and they soon returned to their inhuman policy, though they no longer ventured to inflict upon their innocent victims the extreme penalty of death.

In the year 1662, Mary Tompkins, Alice Ambrose, and Anne Coleman, came from England on a religious mission ; and being joined by George Preston and Edward Wharton of Salem, they proceeded to Dover. On their arrival, many persons resorted to the inn where they were, and a good opportunity was afforded them to make known the foundation of their faith and hope of salvation. Some of the people acknowledged the truth of their doctrines, but a clergyman named Raynor being sent for, came to the inn, and accused them with "denying magistrates, ministers, and the churches of Christ." "*Thou sayest so,*" answered Mary Tompkins. And "You deny three persons in the Trinity," said Raynor. To which Mary answered, "Take notice, people, this man falsely accuses us ; for godly magistrates and the ministers of Christ we own ; and that there are three that bear record in heaven, which three are the Father, Word, and Spirit, that we own : but for the three persons in the Trinity, that's for thee to prove." "I will prove three persons in the Trinity," he replied. "Prove it by the Scripture," said George Preston. "Yes," rejoined Raynor, "by this I will prove it, where it said, 'He is the express image of his Father's person.'" A by-stander said, "That is falsely translated." "Yes," answered a learned man,

"for in the Greek it is not person but substance." "But it *is* person," said Raynor, "and so there is one person." "Thou sayest so," replied George Preston, "but prove thy other two if thou canst." "There are three somethings," he said, and then leaving abruptly, he called to the people to withdraw from amongst them. Mary Tompkins called to him to come back, and not leave his people amongst those he called wolves; but he not returning, she said to the company, "Is not this the hireling that flees and leaves the flock?" Many of the people were that day convinced of the principles of Friends, and notwithstanding the severity of the laws against entertaining them, these gospel messengers were invited by the citizens to their houses, and a large, satisfactory meeting was held.¹

Leaving Dover, the Friends proceeded to the province or district of Maine, and stopped, by invitation, at the house of Major Slapleigh, a magistrate, who is described as an inquirer after truth. He desired that a discussion on religious subjects should be held between the Friends and a clergyman who lived in his family; but the latter, although he appeared to consent, very soon withdrew. Major Slapleigh and his wife, with many others, being convinced of the truth as preached by his guests, he soon after dismissed his former minister, and permitted the meetings of Friends to be held in his house.²

After some stay in that neighborhood, Mary Tompkins, Alice Ambrose, and Ann Coleman travelled in the western part of the province, and then toward winter they returned to Dover, in order to confirm

¹ New England Jugged, 361-363.

² Ibid. 365.

and strengthen those who had been convinced through their ministry.

They had not been long in that place before Raynor, the clergyman whom they had formerly encountered, caused them to be arrested and taken before a magistrate named Walden. By him they were told there was a law under which they would be punished. Mary Tompkins answered, "So there was a law that Daniel should not pray to his God." He replied, "Yes, and Daniel suffered, and so shall you." On this occasion the priest supplied the place of a clerk to the ignorant magistrate, and wrote a warrant, addressed to the constables of eleven different towns, from Dover to Dedham, requiring them to tie Mary Tompkins, Alice Ambrose, and Ann Coleman behind a cart, and driving through those several towns, to whip them on their backs, not exceeding ten stripes a-piece in each town, and so to convey them from constable to constable until they came beyond that jurisdiction.

This order was barbarously executed at Dover, the lash being applied to their naked bodies while the priest Raynor looked on and laughed. They were also whipped at Hampton and Salisbury; but the constable having deputed a person to convey them further, he was touched with compassion for their sufferings, and set them at liberty.¹ It was then winter, and the ground covered with snow. If the inhuman sentence had been executed in full through all the eleven townships, a distance of eighty miles, it is scarcely possible that the innocent sufferers could have survived the infliction.

Being at liberty, they returned to the house of their

¹ New England Judged.

friend, Major Slapleigh, and proceeding a short distance further, they held a meeting for divine worship. At the close of the meeting, a clergyman stood up and said, "Good women, you have spoken well and prayed well; pray what is your rule?" They answered, "The spirit of the Lord is our rule, and it ought to be thine, and all men's to walk by." To which he replied, "It is not my rule, nor I hope ever shall be."¹

Having returned to Dover, they attended, with other Friends, a meeting for divine worship, from which they were taken by constables, and subjected to renewed sufferings, from personal violence and exposure to the cold, by which their lives were imperilled.

Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose still pursuing their religious labors, went to a meeting-house in Hampton, where, taking their seats with the congregation, they heard the minister confess in his prayer, after the manner of the Puritans, that "he and his people had all the days of their lives brought forth nothing but the grapes of Sodom and the clusters of Gomorrah." And yet soon after he said to the congregation, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of God."

The two Friends were greatly burdened with the inconsistency and formality which they witnessed; but before they had time to speak a word, the minister perceiving them, called to the magistrate to expel them. They were accordingly taken out and put in the stocks, where they were kept until the minister had left. On being released, they found an opportunity to preach to the people. These two devoted ministers, believing that they had now done and suf-

¹ New England Judged, 369.

ferred all that was required of them in New England, departed for Maryland and Virginia.¹

The following letter to George Fox gives some account of their travels.

The Cliffs in Maryland, 18th of 11th month, 1663.

DEAR G. F.—The remembrance of thee, and the precious words which thou spake unto us when we were with thee, remaineth with us as a seal on our spirits. Dear George, we are well, and God is with us. We have been in Virginia, where we have had good service for the Lord. Our sufferings have been large amongst them. John Perrot is now amongst them; many there are leavened with his unclean spirit. He has done much hurt, which has made our travels hard and our labors sore; for which we know he will have his reward, if he repent not. What we have borne and suffered concerning him, have been more and harder than all we have received from our enemies; but the Lord was good, and was with us, and in his power kept us over him. We have not time to acquaint thee with much more. We are now about to sail for Virginia again. We are not clear of New England; if the Lord will, we may pass there in a little time, if he maketh way for us. Dear George, it is our desire if it were the will of God, to go to England again as soon as we can see our way there, for we greatly desire to see thee and Friends again. Let thy prayers be to the Lord for us, that we may live unto him forever. MARY TOMPKINS,

ALICE AMBROSE.

Elizabeth Hooten and Joan Brocksopp have been mentioned, in a preceding chapter,² as being liberated,

¹ Bowden, I. 348.

² Vol. I. p. 422, note.

with other Friends, in the year 1661, from Boston prison. They were then, by order of the public authorities, driven two days' journey into the wilderness, and there left, without food or shelter. With much difficulty and danger, they at length reached the hospitable colony of Rhode Island, and after some stay there, they embarked for Barbadoes. Being under an apprehension that their mission to New England was not yet accomplished, they returned thither; but, on coming to Boston, they were immediately arrested, and put on board a ship bound for Virginia. Elizabeth Hooten, after some sufferings in Virginia on account of her religious testimony, returned to her home in England. After some time, she believed a necessity was laid upon her by the Lord to return to Massachusetts; and, in order to secure a right of residence there, she obtained from the king a license "to buy a house for herself to live in, for Friends to meet in, and ground to bury their dead."¹

Thus prepared, she and her daughter of the same name embarked in a ship bound for Boston. On the arrival of the ship, the public authorities were about to exact from the captain a fine of 100 pounds, which, according to their law, was incurred by any master of a vessel who should bring a Quaker into their jurisdiction; but, the king's license being produced, this design was frustrated.

Elizabeth Hooten applied to the court at Boston for liberty to purchase for herself a house and lot of ground, strenuously insisting that she had a right to do so, both by common privilege as an Englishwoman, and by virtue of the king's license. The

¹ New England Judget, 411, and Besse, II. 229.

court, however, in total disregard of her legal rights and of their professed loyalty to the king, refused her application, and would not even allow her to remain in Boston. At Cambridge she made a similar request, and was in like manner refused. Accompanied by her daughter, she travelled to Dover and other places, preaching the gospel, and enduring great sufferings from stripes, imprisonment, and hunger; but, through all, rejoicing in spirit, that she was counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake.

At Cambridge she was unmercifully scourged; and then, being carried into the wilderness, she was left exposed to the attacks of wild beasts; but these were less cruel than her Puritan persecutors; and, after a toilsome journey, she again found a welcome in Rhode Island.

She was now upwards of sixty years of age; and, notwithstanding all the hardships she had endured, she once more returned to Boston, to call the people to repentance, and to warn them of "the terrible day of the Lord."

The sufferings inflicted upon her on this occasion were even greater than she had before endured; "but as, in so righteous a cause, her afflictions abounded, so her inward consolations did much more abound; so that she was enabled, in holy triumph and humble meekness, to declare, 'All this, and much more, have I gone through and suffered, and much more could I, for the seed's sake, which is buried and oppressed, as a cart is laden with sheaves, and as a prisoner is in an inward prison-house; yea, the love that I bear to the souls of all men makes me willing to undergo whatsoever can be inflicted on me.'"¹

¹ New England Judged, 420, and Besse, II. 237.

There appears to be no further account of Elizabeth Hooten's travels in New England, until three years afterwards, when we find her in Boston, at the time of Governor Endicott's death. For attending the funeral of that notorious persecutor, at which she probably attempted to speak, she was once more subjected to imprisonment. Her perseverance in visiting so often that strong-hold of intolerance, her fidelity in reproving the ministers and magistrates for their sins, and her patience in suffering under their cruel inflictions, together with her spotless life and devotional spirit, entitle her to be ranked among the meek confessors of Christianity.

Ann Chattam was another of those twenty-seven Friends, who, in 1661, were liberated from Boston prison and driven into the wilderness. On that occasion, she had come from London to New England under an apprehension of religious duty, and she believed it was required of her to appear publicly, "clothed in sackcloth, as a sign of the indignation of the Lord against the oppressing and tyrannical spirit which had rule in the magistracy of that place." This humiliating sacrifice being made, she was immediately arrested, imprisoned, and expelled. She was not deterred, however, from returning to Boston, where she was again imprisoned during a very cold winter, and from the hardships she endured, a sickness ensued which endangered her life. After her recovery, she was married to John Chamberlain, a Friend, living in Boston, and so she became an inhabitant of that city.¹

Edward Wharton, of Salem, whose sentence of banishment on pain of death has already been mentioned,²

¹ Besse, II. 231.

²Vol. I., Chapter XV.

continued publicly within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Being at Dover, in the summer of 1663, he went to the house where the court was sitting, and uttered these words: "Woe to all oppressors and persecutors, for the indignation of the Lord is against them. Therefore, Friends, whilst you have time, prize the day of his patience, and cease to do evil, and learn to do well; ye who spoil the poor and devour the innocent." Having said this, he was immediately apprehended and put in the stocks until they should determine what to do with him. After the magistrates had consulted together, he was called before the court, when the chairman asked him, "Wherefore he came thither?" He answered, "To bear my testimony to the truth against persecution and violence." He was sentenced to be "whipped at the cart's-tail," through the several townships from Dover to Salem; and in each township, being seven in number, to receive not exceeding ten stripes, "according to the law, of vagabond Quakers in that behalf." On this sentence being pronounced, Edward Wharton said, "I fear not the worst you may be suffered to do unto me; neither do I seek for any favor at your hands."

A few days afterwards the sentence was executed, except that instead of being tied to a cart, he was conveyed on horseback from town to town like a criminal, and whipped at each place as directed by the court.

He had been at home in Salem but a short time, when two of his friends, John Lyddal, and Thomas Newhouse, having been at a meeting there, were apprehended and sentenced to be whipped through three towns as vagabonds. Upon the execution of this sen-

tence, Edward Wharton publicly testified against the iniquitous proceedings of the magistrates, for which he was again subjected to severe scourging.

The next year he attended a Friends' meeting in Boston, for which he was arrested and sentenced to the same ignominious punishment. On being whipped and expelled from the town, he was threatened that he should be so served every time he came thither. He answered, "I think I shall be here to-morrow again." Accordingly, he returned the next day, and appeared publicly in the presence of his persecutors, asking them, "How it could be, that he should be a vagrant yesterday, and not to-day?" They suffered him to remain unmolested, and thus through his perseverance and innocent boldness, having triumphed over their cruelty, he returned to his home at Salem.

The services and sufferings of Ann Coleman in the year 1662, have already been mentioned. After parting with her companions, Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose, she went to Rhode Island, and there she was engaged in the service of her Divine Master, "together with Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, and Jane Millard, all of whom had recently come from England."¹

In the summer of 1663, they went on a gospel mission to the northern and eastern parts of New England, visiting Salem, Dover, and Hampton; in all of which places their labors of love were requited by the public authorities with severe persecution. They soon after embarked for Barbadoes.

In the autumn of 1664, John Burnyeat, after visiting Friends' meetings in Ireland, embarked at Galloway for Barbadoes. In that island he remained

¹ Bowden's Hist., I. 263.

three or four months, engaged in the service of the gospel. There he met with many who had, through the influence of John Perrot, been led to indulge in "high notions and vain conceits;" pretending to be above all forms, and discouraging the attendance of religious meetings. With these John Burnyeat labored diligently; withstanding those who were contentious, and endeavoring to reclaim such as retained any tenderness of feeling. In the ensuing spring he took shipping for Maryland, and during the summer of 1665 he was engaged in that province in the work of the ministry. The chief exercise that attended him in Maryland was on account of Thomas Thurston, once a favored minister, but at this time a disturber of Friends.¹

In Virginia, John Burnyeat found that the greater part of the Friends had been led astray by John Perrot, who had been among them inculcating his peculiar views. They had almost forsaken their meetings, not assembling more than once a-year; and in order to shun the cross, they had in a great measure relinquished their religious testimonies. With great difficulty John Burnyeat obtained a meeting among them, and "the Lord's power," he says, "was with us, and several were revived and refreshed, being, through the Lord's goodness and his renewed visitations, raised up into a service of life, and in time came to see over the wiles of the enemy." After spending some months in Virginia and Maryland, he went in the Fourth month, 1666, to New York, where he had some religious service, and then proceeded to New England.

¹ Works of J. B. 34.

Having performed a general visit to the meetings of Friends in America, he returned to Barbadoes, where he spent the summer of 1667, engaged in the Lord's service with comfort and success. In the autumn of that year he returned to England, where he travelled much and labored diligently to promote the cause of Truth.¹

Early in the year 1666, John Taylor, a Friend in the ministry, who had been three years a resident of Jamaica, embarked with his family in a ship bound for Barbadoes; but the vessel being carried out of her course, the voyage was so much prolonged that they put into the port of Boston for supplies. In this place he remained three weeks, and then proceeded to Rhode Island, whence, after six months' residence, he removed to England, his native country, and settled in York. He had visited New England on a religious mission seven years before, and he was frequently engaged in the service of the gospel both in Europe and America.²

¹ J. Burnyeat's Works, 35.

² Bowden, I. 279, 334.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND.

1661-4.

THE progress of religious liberty throughout Christendom, but more especially in Great Britain and her colonies, having been greatly promoted by the faithful labors and patient sufferings of the early Friends, it becomes a subject of interest to trace the various steps of that earnest and protracted struggle in which they were engaged. Like the primitive Christian church, they had to encounter the prejudices of the people, the suspicious fears of the government, and the determined hostility of the priesthood. Being redeemed from the world, and clothed with the spirit of Christian love, they could truly adopt the language of an apostle: "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

The respite they enjoyed, after thousands of them were released from prison by the king's proclamation, was of short continuance; for a Bill was introduced into Parliament in the 5th month, 1661, which was expressly intended to crush them. It was entitled "An Act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others, refusing to take lawful oaths."¹ After set-

¹ Besse, I. Pref. xi.

ting forth that certain persons named Quakers, and others, "have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and among others, that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful and contrary to the word of God," etc., the Act proceeds to state, further, that the said persons, under pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers, in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence among themselves; and in the mean time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and lawful subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of divine worship:" it then enacts, that if five or more Quakers, above sixteen years of age, assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship not authorized by law, the party convicted shall forfeit, for the first offence, not exceeding £5, for the second, £10, and in default of payment or distraint for the first offence to be imprisoned three months, for the second six months, and for the third transportation to any of the king's plantations."¹

This Bill being referred to a committee, three of the Friends — Edward Burrough, Richard Hubbertorn, and George Whitehead — obtained permission to appear before them, and plead their cause. They had two hearings, and spoke with freedom and boldness, showing the injustice of the proposed law, and the sorrowful consequences that must ensue from its enactment.

¹ G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, and Barclay's *Letters of Early Friends*.

George Whitehead said: "You might as well go about to make a law that we shall not pray in the name of Christ Jesus, as to make one to hinder or suppress our meetings, which are in his name, and from which we may no more refrain, than Daniel could forbear praying to the true God, though it was contrary to the decree of king Darius."

Edward Burrough closed his address with these words: "If ever this Bill now under debate is finished into an Act to be executed, I am so far from yielding conformity thereto, that I shall, through the strength of Christ, meet among the people of God to worship Him; and not only so, but I shall make it my business to exhort all God's people every where, to meet together for the worship of God, notwithstanding that law and all its penalties; and I desire that this declaration may be reported to the House."¹

Notwithstanding all the cogent arguments urged against the Bill, it was reported to the House; and the same Friends, together with Edward Pyot of Bristol, having ascertained when it was to be read, were in attendance, and sent in a petition that they might be heard before it was passed. Their request was granted, and they were permitted to appear before the bar of the House, their hats being previously taken off by the sergeant.

They first presented a manuscript, which was received by the hands of the sergeant; and then being informed by the speaker that they might state their objections to the Bill, they all spoke in succession, and were heard with moderation and patience. The

¹ Letters of Early Friends, XXXVIII.

reasons they assigned why the Bill should not pass were chiefly these: "1st. Because of the falsity and unsoundness of it; 2dly, because of the unreasonableness and unjustness of it in itself; and 3dly, because of the evil effects of it, which must needs follow if it passed."¹

They showed that the meetings of Friends were in no wise a terror to the people, but peaceable and inoffensive,—that they had never been found plotting against the government, but had often suffered unjustly and patiently, both under Cromwell and since the king's restoration, and that the liberty of conscience which they claimed was an absolute and indefeasible right.

Their arguments had much weight with some of the members, and after the Friends had withdrawn, an earnest debate ensued, in which some defended them and deprecated the principles of the Bill; but the majority being against them, the act was passed by the Commons and sent to the Upper House.

In order to arrest the Bill in the House of Lords, Edward Burrough and other Friends waited on some of the peers, and sent in a petition to that body, which was read and referred to a committee, with instructions "to consider of a proper remedy to *cure the distemper of these people.*" Three days afterward, the Earl of Pembroke, on behalf of the committee, made a report, recommending that the prayer of the petitioners to have their yea, or nay, taken instead of an oath, as also their prayer to be exempted from tithes, be rejected; and that the clause of the petition relating to public worship, being too weighty for the

¹ Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, XXXVIII.

determination of the committee, be debated by the House. This report was made in the latter part of the 5th month, when the Bill was read the first time, and soon after Parliament adjourned until the 9th month.

While the Bill was pending in the House of Peers, Edward Burrough presented a paper entitled "Reasons and considerations against the said Bill," which concludes with the following noble declaration, viz.:

"This is the perfect state of our case, and an absolute extremity is put upon us, either to disobey the law of God and to deny Christ before men, and so to destroy our souls, and be ourselves under the wrath of God, or to disobey your intended law, and so to expose our persons, estates, lives, and families to utter destruction in this world. For the law of God and this law, in the cases mentioned, are plainly opposite one to another; for Christ saith, 'Swear not at all,' Matt. v.; and the apostle James saith, 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, lest ye fall into condemnation.' But this law enjoineth to swear, and every one that refuseth to swear shall undergo such forfeitures, punishments, and banishments. Whether it is better to obey God's law or this, and to undergo God's displeasure or yours, for disobedience, judge ye. Also, God hath commanded us to meet together to worship him in spirit and in truth, and the apostle hath exhorted (Heb. x.) not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, but to exhort one another, and not to sin in neglect of our duty, upon the penalty of a certain looking for of judgment and fiery indignation from God; and it was the practice of the

primitive Christians to meet together and sit sometimes in private houses; but this law prohibits our meeting together upon such forfeitures and penalties even unto banishment. Whether of these two laws are the more just and to be obeyed, let the God of heaven and your own consciences bear witness; if we disobey the one, we gain the wrath of God to the destruction of our souls; and if we disobey the other, we gain the wrath of men to the utter destruction of our families, estates, and lives in this world. This is our present case and our sad extremity! But we are resolved in the name of the Lord to obey God and his righteous laws and commands, though we suffer absolute destruction in this world; and we will trust the God of heaven with our cause, which is the cause of a good conscience, which is the Lord's, and not our own, of Him, and not of ourselves; and we will walk in the ways of His truth and commandments, and will meet together to worship the Father in spirit and in truth, and exhort one another thereunto for our comfort and edification in the Holy Spirit, notwithstanding any law of man to the contrary; and if for so doing we perish,—we perish! and our blood will be upon our persecutors; and the reward of our destruction will come upon you, if ye go on passing laws against the law of God for the persecution and ruin of us his people. We heartily desire you to take this into your consideration, and that the fear and wisdom of God may be amongst you.

EDWARD BURROUGH.'¹

On the re-assembling of Parliament, the Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords, and re-

¹ Letters of Early Friends, XXXVIII.

ferred to a committee, of which six of the members were bishops. In three days, it was reported with alterations, and again referred to a committee. After several commitments, much debate, and a conference between the two houses, the act was finally passed, and on "May 2d, 1662," the royal assent to it was reported.¹

This act has sometimes been called the Act against Conventicles ; but this title belongs more properly to another persecuting law, subsequently enacted.

It is remarked by Geo. Whitehead, in his "Christian Progress," that there were very few in that Parliament who appeared openly for Friends, or advocated liberty of conscience. Among these, he names Edmund Waller, Michael Mallett, and Sir John Vaughan.

Waller was distinguished as a poet and a wit. He was considered a vacillating politician ; but he merits the praise of being an advocate of religious liberty when there were few in public life to stand by his side. Mallett was afterwards convinced of the Truth, as professed by Friends ; and he frequented their meetings, even in suffering times, when, being kept out of their meeting-houses, they met in the streets of the metropolis. Sir John Vaughan, then a young man, appeared openly as an advocate for Friends. He was subsequently convinced of their principles, attended their meetings, and was imprisoned with them in Newgate, under the Conventicle Act. He afterwards visited them in prison ; and, even when he became Earl of Carberry, he continued friendly to them, not

¹ Letters of Early Friends, XXXVIII.

forgetting, in his old age, the good impressions received at their religious meetings.¹

Within a few days after the royal assent had been given to that inhuman law concerning the refusal of oaths and the attendance of Friends' meetings, the spirit of persecution manifested itself in London and other parts of the kingdom with unwonted violence. By another law, passed in the same year, called the Corporation Act, the king was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating the corporations, and displacing such magistrates as professed principles dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical.² The commissioners exercised their power with such rigor, that few or none were continued in the magistracy who were not of the same principles as the majority of the House of Commons, and determined to execute the penal laws with severity. Even the judges appear to have been selected with the same view, and many of them manifested the utmost hostility against all Dissenters.³

Among the persecuting magistrates, Richard Brown, an alderman of London, signalized himself as one of the most brutal and vindictive. During the preceding administration he had been a fierce adversary of the royalists; but, on the restoration of the king, he changed with the times, and seemed disposed to atone for his former disaffection by entire subserviency to the court and church. In recompense for his vigorous execution of the penal laws, he was knighted, and subsequently chosen Lord Mayor of London, in which station he exercised great cruelty towards Friends.

¹ G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 270, 271.

² Hume, IV. 184.

³ Gough, I. 507, 508.

One of the first outrages committed, after the act against the people called Quakers came into force, was by a man named Philip Miller, who, without any warrant or legal authority, came to a Friends' meeting in John's street, and directed the rabble who attended him to seize such persons as he designated. He then brought a constable, and conducted John Crook and four other Friends to a magistrate, who committed them to Newgate prison. Some days after, Miller, attended by a constable, came again to the same meeting; and, because the Friends would not depart at his bidding, he beat them with his cane, and conducted nine of them before a magistrates' court, by which they were committed to Newgate. In the same month, a captain, with armed soldiers, dragged thirty-nine persons by force out of the Bull and Mouth meeting of Friends, and conducted them before Alderman Richard Brown, who laid violent hands on an aged man — pulled him down, and sent him, with three others, to Newgate. On the same day, twenty-one persons, taken by soldiers from a meeting in Tower-street, were committed to Newgate by a verbal order from the same persecuting magistrate.

Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, was also very active in breaking up the meetings of Friends, and sending the members to prison. He committed twelve persons to Newgate, taken out of a meeting at Mile-End-Green; and at another time five persons from the same meeting. He also sent two boys to Bridewell, one of them thirteen, and the other sixteen years of age. "The constancy of those young lads was remarkable, who, having their arms put into the stocks, and there so pinched for the

space of two hours that their wrists were very much swollen, yet continued undaunted, nor could the keepers force them to work, they asserting their innocence, and refusing to eat but at their own charge. They wrote also, during their imprisonment, an exhortation to Friends' children to stand faithful in their testimony against all unrighteousness.¹

In London and its suburbs, not less than five hundred Friends were, at this time, in prison, and many of them were crowded together in such narrow cells that they scarcely had room to lie down.² In addition to their other hardships, the felons confined in the prisons with them were allowed to rob them of their clothes and money.

The meetings of Friends in and about London were broken up with force and violence; being entered by officers and soldiers, who beat and abused those who were peaceably assembled for divine worship. This was more especially the case on First days, which the persecutors professed to keep as their Christian Sabbath.

It is remarked by George Whitehead, that, "even after an act of Parliament was made, 'for the better observation of the Lord's day,' those self-condemned pretended Christians, in many places, furiously went on in their persecution and cruelty against their fellow-creatures and honest neighbors."³

At the Bull and Mouth meeting, the trained bands armed with muskets, pikes, and halberds, fell upon the congregation so furiously that many were grievously wounded, some fell down in a swoon, and some

¹ Besse, I. 368.

² Sewel, II. 3. Besse, I. 380.

³ Christian Progress, 271.

were beaten so violently that they lived not long after it. Among these was John Trowel, who was so bruised and crushed that he died within a few days. His friends carried the bruised and blackened corpse to the same meeting-house, where it was exposed to public view, which excited the commiseration of the citizens. A coroner's inquest was held; but they failed to render a verdict, because the assault having been made in a crowd, no particular person could be fixed upon as the perpetrator, and, moreover, the city would have been liable to a heavy fine if a murder, in open day, had been proven without the criminal being discovered and arrested. A narrative of these facts being printed, a person who was engaged in circulating them was apprehended, and, by the special order of Alderman Brown, committed to prison.

The Friends, seeing no hope of obtaining justice or commiseration from the government, resigned themselves to suffer in patience, with a firm reliance upon that Almighty Being who, when his beneficent purposes have been answered by the afflictions permitted to befall his people, never fails to relieve them.

When kept out of their meeting-houses by the soldiers, they did not withdraw or relinquish their purpose of publicly worshipping God, but standing near the place, they held their meetings, which were greatly increased by the passers-by, while gospel ministry and vocal prayer were often heard among them. The ministers were frequently interrupted and pulled down by the soldiers, but when one was taken and carried to prison, another was generally ready to supply his place, and thus it sometimes

happened that four or five ministers in succession were carried away "as sheep for the slaughter."¹

These street meetings attracted much attention. Sometimes eminent men passing by in their coaches would bid their coachmen stop, and a great concourse of people being gathered, the ministers had an opportunity to sound the gospel trumpet, with such awakening power that many were gathered to their fold.

The sufferings they endured on account of their religious principles, were a convincing evidence of their sincerity; and those who came among them, finding brotherly love and devotion to God prevailing in an eminent degree, were often induced to stay; "Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."

The Friends incarcerated in Newgate — one hundred and forty in number — suffered greatly from close confinement in that noisome and densely crowded prison, where many were debilitated by sickness, and some died in bonds. Among these prisoners, were poor men having families dependent on them for support, and tradesmen whose business was ruined by their detention.

In consideration of their deplorable condition, about thirty of their brethren petitioned the mayor and sheriff of London, that these prisoners might be allowed to come out for some weeks, in order to save their lives, and prevent the ruin of their families; the petitioners being willing to become sureties for their return; or if this offer were rejected, they were willing to take their places in prison.

This noble and generous offer was not accepted by

¹ Sewel, II. 5.

the city authorities; but in the latter part of the sixth month (August), 1662, on the occasion of the queen's first coming to Whitehall, the king addressed a letter to the mayor and magistrates, desiring them to release from prison all those called Quakers, "excepting such as had been indicted for refusing the oath of allegiance, or were ringleaders or preachers among them." In pursuance of this order, all the Friends in the jails of London and Middlesex, except about twelve, were set at liberty.¹ This act of clemency afforded only a temporary relief; for the persecuting laws were still in force, and the magistrates and clergy being actuated by the same bitter feelings as before, the prisons of the metropolis were, in the same year, again filled with the suffering Friends.

In the latter part of this year the king issued a declaration, expressive of his desire to fulfil his promise of religious toleration contained in the declaration from Breda. After expressing his intention to protect the rights of the Church of England, he says: "As for what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way; he should make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom, next approaching session, to concur with him in making such an act for that purpose, as may enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispersing, which he conceived to be inherent in him."

At the opening of the next session, early in the fol-

¹ Besse, I. 385.

lowing year, the subject of toleration to dissenters was introduced in the king's speech; but the parliament, being thoroughly opposed to both Non-conformists and Papists—the latter of whom they supposed the king intended to favor—expressed in their address to the throne, a decided resolution not to concur in the intended indulgence. The king, after this demonstration, did not think proper to press the measure, and the two Houses, in order to deprive the Catholics of all hope, concurred in a remonstrance against them.¹

It was not in the metropolis alone, that the persecuting spirit manifested its bitter fruits; for in many other places throughout the kingdom, a large number of Friends were imprisoned for their religious testimony. There was published, in print, a brief account of the persecution throughout England, signed by twelve persons, showing that “more than four thousand two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison in England; and denoting the number of them that were imprisoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or denying to swear.”²

The unwholesome condition of the prisons in the 17th century, can hardly be conceived; “some for filth and pestilential noisomeness, and others for exposure to the inclemency of the elements.” They were a disgrace to any civilized community; not only on account of their filthy, unwholesome, and neglected condition, but equally so, because of the indiscriminate association to which all classes of persons were subjected.

Thomas Ellwood, being in London in the autumn of 1662, attended the meeting at the Bull and Mouth

¹ Sewel, II. 3.

² Hume, Chap. LXIII.

near Aldersgate. Before the congregation was fully gathered, a company of soldiers rushed in, and pointed their muskets at the people, proclaiming that all who were not Quakers might retire. This permission being accepted, the Friends were soon left alone, and were ordered to come out of the room; but they declined to comply. The soldiers were then sent in among them to drag them out, which they did with violence. Thomas Ellwood stepped up to the officer in command, and asked him if he intended a massacre. He replied, "No; but I intend to have you all hanged by the wholesome laws of the land." When they had taken thirty-two Friends, two of whom had not been to the meeting, but were seized in the street, they conducted them under guard to a prison called the Old Bridewell. This ancient building had once been occupied as a royal palace, until Cardinal Wolsey built Whitehall and tendered it as a peace-offering to King Henry the Eighth. The Friends were confined in a large apartment, that had, in former times, been used as a dining-hall, and being without beds, they slept upon rushes with which the floor was covered. In those times of suffering it was the practice of Friends in London to appoint from among them some persons of each sex to attend at all the prisons, and see that their fellow-members were provided with needful sustenance.

"The prison of Bridewell," says Ellwood, "was under the care of two honest, grave, discreet and motherly women, whose names were Anne Merrick (afterwards Vivers) and Anne Travers, both widows. They, as soon as they understood there were Friends brought into that prison, provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, for the weather was cold, and order-

ing their servants to bring it them, with bread, cheese, and beer, came themselves also with it, and having placed it on a table, gave notice to us, that it was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them, or were not able to provide for themselves; and there wanted not among us a competent number of such guests."

There was probably no other prison in the city where the Friends were so well accommodated as in Old Bridewell; but Thomas Ellwood and his companions, after two months' imprisonment there, were arraigned before the sessions at the Old Bailey, and, for refusing to swear, committed to Newgate. They were thrust into the "common side," usually appropriated to the "meanest sort of felons." It was then very full of Friends, as were indeed, at that time, all the prisons in the city. During the day, the prisoners had the liberty of a hall and other rooms to walk and work in, but at night they were all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle a great pillar of oaken timber. To this pillar they attached one end of their hammocks, and the other end to the wall, quite round the room, one over the other, three tiers high; so that they who lay in the upper and middle rows of hammocks had to climb over the lower ones. So closely were they packed together, that a sickness ensued which caused the death of one prisoner and debilitated the others.

A coroner's inquest being held, the death of the prisoner was attributed to the crowded state of the jail; and soon after, Thomas Ellwood, with some of his companions, was sent back to their former lodgings in Old Bridewell. The porter who was to attend them, told them he need not wait for them, as they

knew the way, and could take their own time. Their removal is thus described by Ellwood :

“Having made up our packs and taken our leave of our friends whom we were to leave behind, we took our bundles on our shoulders and walked two and two abreast, through the Old Bailey into Fleet street, and so to Old Bridewell. And it being about the middle of the afternoon, and the streets pretty full of people, both the shop-keepers at their doors, and passengers in the way, would stop us and ask us what we were, and whither we were going ; and when we had told them we were prisoners going from one prison to another, ‘What!’ said they, ‘without a keeper?’ ‘No,’ said we, ‘for our word which we have given is our keeper.’ Some thereupon would advise us not to go to prison, but to go home. But we told them we could not do so ; we could suffer for our testimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any abuse offered us, but were generally pitied by the people.”¹

Their detention continued until the next sessions at the Old Bailey, when, without further question, they were discharged.

Of all the prisons in London, Newgate appears to have been the most destructive to health. In the year 1662, no less than twenty Friends died there, besides seven others who deceased soon after their discharge, from diseases contracted in that pestilential atmosphere.² Among them were Richard Hubberthorn and Edward Burrough, whose eminent services have often been mentioned in the foregoing pages.

¹ Life of Ellwood, 94.

² Their names are recorded by Besse, I. 388, 392.

Richard Hubberthorn was, on the 22d of the fourth month, taken from the Bull and Mouth meeting, and carried before Alderman Richard Brown, "who used violence towards him with his own hands, in pulling his hat down upon his head, so that he brought his head near the ground, and then committed him to Newgate. At the sessions he was, with others, indicted for being at an unlawful meeting," and remanded to prison. His fellow-prisoner, George Whitehead, gives the following account of their imprisonment: "So many of us were crowded together, both in that called Justice Hall side, and in the chapel side of the prison, that we were hard put to it for lodging room. The chapel was on the top of Newgate, where many Friends lay in hammocks crowded; and Richard Hubberthorn and I lay on a small pallet-bed, in a little hole or closet behind the chapel, and opening into it, so as the breath and steam of those that lay next us, in the chapel, came much upon us. We chose to lodge on the chapel side, for the encouragement of many of the poorer sort of Friends who were there, and that they might not be offended or troubled, as we thought they might, if we had taken up our lodgings among the richer sort of our Friends on Justice Hall side.

"We had many good meetings in the chapel, and the Lord was with us to our great comfort and encouragement, in his name and power, for whose sake we suffered patiently. It being summer time, and a hot season, when we were thus crowded in prison, some of our Friends, who were prisoners, fell sick of a violent fever, whereof some died, and were viewed by the coroner's inquest. And when some were removed

out of prison, by reason of sickness, they quickly ended their days, after their close confinement."¹

Richard Hubberthorn was one of those taken with the jail fever, which proved to be the messenger of his release. About two days before his decease, some of his dearest friends visiting him, asked him if any thing was on his mind. His answer was: "That there was no need to dispute matters; he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied forever in his peace with the Lord;" and "we know," said he, "one another well, and what each of us can say about these things."² During his sickness he expressed much love to Friends; and his mind was redeemed out of all visible things; and sometimes he would say: "The word of the Lord is with me." And further: "That faith which wrought my salvation I well know and have grounded satisfaction in it." He finished his course on the 17th of the sixth month, 1662; and, doubtless, exchanged the gloomy walls of a prison for a glorious mansion of bliss.

It was testified of him, by his intimate friend, Edward Burrough, that he was a man of peace, abhorring dissension and strife among brethren, and evincing great equanimity, both in prosperity and adversity. He had travelled through most parts of England in the service of the gospel, and was an earnest advocate of "the living faith once delivered to the saints, which stands in the power of God, and works by love."³

Edward Burrough being at Bristol, in the early

¹ Christian Progress, 271.

² E. Burrough's Testimony in R. Hubberthorn's Works, London, 1663.

³ Piety Promoted.

part of the year 1662, on taking leave of his friends, said to them: "I am going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer among Friends in that place." His heart was much drawn thither, and he often said, when sufferings came for the gospel's sake, "I can freely go to that city, and lay down my life for a testimony of that truth, which I have declared through the power and spirit of God."¹

Soon after his arrival in the metropolis, he was taken from a meeting at the Bull and Mouth meeting-house, by soldiers under the command of Sir Richard Brown, and committed to Newgate. Some weeks afterwards, being brought before a court at the Old Bailey, he was fined twenty marks, and condemned to lie in prison till payment. Not being willing to comply with this unrighteous demand, he lay in prison nearly nine months.

About three months before his death he wrote a letter to some of his friends in the country, expressing his solicitude for their spiritual welfare, his reliance on divine support in every trial, and his earnest desire that all who had espoused the cause of Truth should stand faithful unto death. He says: "Many have given up their lives, in faithfulness, in this place; and their faithfulness in keeping meetings, and in patiently enduring many tribulations, and cruel exercises, is a crown upon Friends in this city. Here are now near two hundred and fifty of us prisoners, in Newgate, Bridewell, Southwark, and New Prison. In Newgate we are extremely thronged,

¹ F. Howgill's Testimony in E. Burrough's Works, London, 1672.

that if the mercy of the Lord had not preserved us, we could not have endured; there is near an hundred in our room on the common side amongst the felons, and their sufferings are great, but the Lord supports." . . . "Our trust is in the Lord, and not in man; and we desire the same spirit may dwell and abide in you also, that ye may be like-minded with us, and be all of the mind of Christ, who seeks men's salvation, and not their destruction."¹

He was in prayer often, both day and night, saying, at one time, "I have had a testimony of the Lord's love to me from my youth, and my heart hath been given up to do his will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake. Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee?" Another time, he said, "There lies no iniquity at my door; but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life, I feel, justifies me!" Afterwards, he said to the Lord, "Thou hast loved me when I was in the womb, and I have loved thee from my cradle, and from my youth unto this day, and have served thee faithfully in my generation."

He exhorted Friends about him to live in love and peace, and said: "The Lord takes the righteous from the evil to come." He prayed for his enemies and persecutors, saying, "Lord, forgive Richard Brown, who imprisoned me." Again, he said, "Though this body of clay must turn to dust, yet I have this testimony, that I have served God in my generation; and that spirit which hath lived, and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands." In the morning before his departure, being sensible that his death

¹ Besse, I. 390.

was nigh, he said, "Now my soul and spirit is centered in its own being with God, and this form of person must return from whence it was taken."¹ Thus he laid down his life as a martyr, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, "on the 14th day of the month called February, 1662-3, being about twenty-eight years of age, ten of which he had devoted to the work of the gospel ministry."²

Edward Burrough, though a young man, occupied a conspicuous station in the very front of that devoted band, who with spiritual weapons, went forth as followers of the Lamb, to make war in righteousness against all evil. He was greatly beloved by his friends, several of whom left testimonies concerning him. "He was," says William Crouch, "a man of undaunted courage. The Lord set him above the fear of his enemies, and I have beheld him filled with power by the spirit of the Lord. For instance, at the Bull and Mouth meeting, when the room, which is very large, hath been filled with people, many of whom have been in uproars, contending one with another, some exclaiming against the Quakers, accusing them with heresy, blasphemy, sedition, and what not; that they were deceivers, and deluded the people; that they denied the Holy Scriptures and the resurrection; while others were endeavoring to vindicate them, and speaking of them more favorably. In the midst of all which noise and confusion, this servant of the Lord hath stood upon a bench with his Bible in his hand, for he generally carried one about him, speaking to the people with great authority from the words of

¹ Sewel, *Piety Promoted*, F. Howgill's testimony, and Josiah Coale's testimony.

² Besse, I. 389.

John vii. 12. 'And there was much murmuring among the people concerning him (to wit, Jesus), for some said, he is a good man; others said, nay, but he deceiveth the people.' And so suitable [was his discourse] to the present debate amongst them, that the whole multitude were overcome thereby, and became exceeding calm and attentive, and departed peaceably, with seeming satisfaction."¹

Francis Howgill, who was the bosom friend and companion of Edward Burrough in most of his travels, mentions him in terms of the most endeared affection, and speaks of his ministry as being eloquent, persuasive, and effectual in the conviction of many. Geo. Fox also left a brief testimony concerning him, in which he says, "His name is chronicled in the Lamb's book of life; a righteous plant, pure, chaste, clean; . . . who, through suffering, hath finished his course and testimony; who is now crowned with the crown of life, and reigns with the Lord Christ forever and ever."²

In other parts of the kingdom, many Friends were subjected to grievous sufferings, and some died in prison. Among these was Humphrey Smith, whose religious labors and severe trials have been mentioned in a previous chapter.³ In the year 1661, being on a religious visit to Friends in and near London, he told some of them that he had a narrow path to pass through, and he said, several days before he was taken up, he saw he should be imprisoned and that it might cost him his life. Taking leave of his friends, he travelled westward from London, and attended a

¹ Posthuma Christiana, London, 1712, p. 26.

² E. Burrough's Works, London, 1672.

³ Vol. I., p. 224 to 228.

religious meeting at Alton, in Hampshire. There he was arrested by a company of armed men, and taken before Humphrey Bennett and John Norton, deputy-lieutenants of the county, who committed him to Winchester prison. In that close and noisome jail he was confined with felons who sometimes robbed him of his food.

At the next Assizes, he laid his suffering case before Judge Terril, who answered, that he might be released on giving bail for his good behavior and appearance at the next sessions. Being conscious that he was innocent, he could not accede to terms which seemed to imply an acknowledgment of guilt, and therefore he was content to remain a prisoner rather than compromit his principles. After lying about eighteen months in prison, he was taken sick with a fever, which soon reduced him to a state of extreme weakness. On being visited by some of his friends, he told them "That he was given up to the will of the Lord, either in life or death." And while suffering with a high fever, he said, "My heart is filled with the power of God." . . . "It is good for a man at such a time as this to have the Lord to be his friend." Another time he said, "Lord, thou sentest me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful unto thee in my small measure, which thou hast committed unto me; but if thou wilt yet try me further, thy will be done." And he added, "I am the Lord's, let him do what he will." Near the time of his departure, he prayed earnestly, saying, "O Lord, hear the inward sighs and groans of thine oppressed, and deliver my soul from the oppressor: hear me, O Lord, uphold and preserve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth: thou art strong and mighty,

O Lord." He prayed that the Lord would deliver his people from their cruel oppressors, and for those who had been convinced by him, that the Lord would be their teacher.¹ He continued in sweet serenity of mind, and "died in perfect peace on the 4th day of the month called May, 1663."²

"He was," says George Whitehead, "a man fearing God and hating iniquity, fervent and zealous against deceit and hypocrisy, and endued with a heavenly gift in gospel ministry, which he faithfully bore in his day, according to his ability, and the Lord was with him, and he was well beloved among his people." About two years before his decease, Humphrey Smith had a remarkable vision, in which he was shown the destruction by fire of a great part of the city of London. He saw her tall buildings fall, and her goodly palaces consumed, and none could quench the flames; he passed through her desolate streets and saw but few inhabitants. This vision he published as a warning to the people, about six years before it was fulfilled in the great fire of London.³

George Fox, after having been some time in London, travelled towards Bristol, visiting meetings; being accompanied by Alexander Parker and John Stubbs, the latter of whom had lately returned from Alexandria, in Egypt. While at Bristol, they attended a meeting on First-day, at Broadmead, where Alexander Parker rose to speak; but while thus

¹ N. Complin's test. in collection of H. Smith's writings, London, 1683.

² Besse, I. 233, and Piety Promoted.

³ The vision of Humphrey Smith which he saw concerning London.—1660-61.

engaged, the officers came and took him away. George Fox then rose and preached the gospel so effectually that the heavenly power came over all, and the meeting was held in peace. On the following First-day, it was understood that the magistrates had determined to come and break up the meeting; but the Friends not being deterred by their threats, attended in large numbers, and George Fox was again engaged in gospel ministry with freedom and success. He then proceeded on his way, attending great meetings in Wiltshire and Berkshire, until he came again to London. After a short stay in that city, he went to Leicestershire, and while at a Friend's house in Swanington, he was arrested and taken before Lord Beaumont, who committed him, with eight other Friends, to Leicester jail. During their imprisonment they had meetings on First-days in the prison-yard, which were well attended and many were convinced, some of whom continued steadfast in the truth. At the next sessions they were indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, but soon after they were released, when G. Fox again resumed his travels and religious labors.

About this time, commenced a severe and protracted imprisonment of Thomas Taylor, whose conviction has been mentioned in a preceding chapter.¹ Accompanied by his wife, he was on a journey to Worcestershire to see his son, and stopped at a Friend's house, where a few persons were met together for divine worship. After the meeting was over, he was arrested by two magistrates, and committed to Stafford jail. At the Assizes he was brought before Judge Tirrel, who tendered him the oath of allegiance, which

¹ Vol. I., p. 138.

he declined to take, because he could not swear in any case. For refusing the oath, he was sentenced to the penalties of a premunire, which consisted in the forfeiture of his real estate during life, and of his personal estate forever, the withdrawal of legal protection, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Under this cruel sentence, he suffered ten years and a half imprisonment, which he endured "with great patience and contentedness of mind, knowing it was not for evil doing, but for bearing his testimony to the Lord's blessed truth."¹

In the same year, the sentence of premunire was also passed upon John Crook, John Bolton, and Isaac Grey, at the Old Bailey in London, and they were remanded to Newgate. The length of time they were imprisoned is not certainly known; but they were probably released, with other Friends, by the king's order to the sheriff, already mentioned.

William Crouch, of London, was, about this time, a prisoner two years for the non-payment of tithes. John Burnyeat, for visiting his imprisoned friends at Rippon, in Yorkshire, was arrested, had the oath of allegiance tendered to him, and refusing to swear, he was confined in jail fourteen weeks; part of the time in a dungeon.²

William Dewsbury, whose services and sufferings have been related in the preceding pages,³ continued to experience in the further progress of his pilgrimage, that bonds and afflictions awaited him. About the beginning of the fourth month, 1661, he was liberated from York Castle. "In the sixth month of the

¹ T. Taylor's testimony concerning his father.

² J. Burnyeat's Works, 30.

³ Chapters II., VIII., XI., and XIX.

same year, he was in Bedfordshire at Buckrin's Park, the residence of James Nagill, who, with Justice Crutt, had been convinced of the truth by his powerful ministry."¹ He was, soon after, imprisoned at Warwick, for giving thanks after supper at an inn, which was called preaching, at a conventicle. His detention in this instance could not have been long, for in the twelfth month of the same year, we find him in London, writing an epistle to his suffering brethren, dated from Newgate. Being liberated in 1662, he proceeded to his house, where his stay must have been short; for it appears that towards the close of that year, he preached in Scotland with remarkable effect.² It is supposed that after his return from this visit, he was taken from his own house at Durteen in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and committed to York Castle, his old residence, as "a ringleader and preacher among the Quakers." In a letter written from York Castle about three months after his commitment, he states that there are upwards of one hundred Friends, his fellow-prisoners, that they meet daily for the purpose of waiting upon and worshipping Almighty God, and that his presence covers their assemblies to their great comfort, and the astonishment of their persecutors. He was liberated early in the year 1663; but towards the close of the same year, he was committed to the common jail at Warwick, where he remained a prisoner nearly eight years.

There are few instances on record of such self-sacrificing zeal as was manifested by this servant of the Lord. In a letter to Margaret Fell, written from

¹ Life of Dewsbury.

² Barclay's *Memoirs of Friends in Scotland*, 26.

prison, he requests her to write to "his tender children and family," and he adds: "In the life of my God I have given them up, with my own life, when he will call for it, a free sacrifice; in his will it is offered up, for him to do what is good in his eyes."

He closes one of his epistles to Friends in the following beautiful language: "Watch over one another with a single eye, building up one another in the holy faith, opening your hearts in the free spirit of God to them that are in need, that ye may bear the image of your Heavenly Father, who relieveth the hungry, and easeth the burden, and maketh glad by refreshing his [people] in the time of need; giving liberally and upbraiding not. Even so be it with you in the name of the Lord, saith your brother and companion in the Lord Jesus Christ."¹

Ambrose Rigge was another of those innocent sufferers for conscience' sake, whose frequent and protracted imprisonments excite our commiseration. In the year 1660, for refusing to swear, he was committed to the common jail at Winchester in Hampshire. At the Assizes he was sentenced to a premunire, under which he was detained a prisoner until released by the king's proclamation.

He then travelled in several counties, preaching the gospel, being a diligent laborer in the service of his divine Master when opportunity was afforded. In the year 1662, he attended a religious meeting at the house of Thomas Luxford; where, at the instigation of a priest named Leonard Letchford, he was apprehended and carried before two magistrates, who

¹ E. Smith's Life of W. Dewsbury.

tendered him the oath of allegiance, and because he could not swear, committed him to prison. He lay in Horsham jail until the Assizes, when he was brought before the judge, Samuel Brown, who passed on him the sentence of *premunire*; and at the instigation of priest Letchford, he was committed a close prisoner, and so continued for upwards of *ten years*, subject to many abuses from cruel jailers. Throughout this long and grievous imprisonment, he was freely resigned to suffer in patience, so long as it should be the divine will.

When Ambrose Rigge had been about two years a prisoner, he was married to Mary, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Luxford, of Hurst Pierpoint, Sussex. They were married in the prison at Horsham, and during the remaining eight years of his confinement, she endured with much patience the privations to which she was subjected. Her father was sued for tithes by priest Letchford, and kept in prison several years; she also was sued and imprisoned on the same account, and by the same rapacious priest, who took out an execution against her, and seized her goods, taking away even that which her husband had earned in prison by his hard labor, and leaving them not a bed to lie upon, nor any other article of furniture.

Ambrose Rigge was blessed in his wife, of whom he says: "She was a blessed woman, and loved the Lord and his truth, and walked in it to the end of her days. She hated all evil in word and deed, and walked before the Lord in much innocency, and loved peace and unity, for she was a woman of a meek and quiet spirit, and loved righteousness wher-

ever it appeared. As the Lord by his immediate hand brought us together, he did preserve us together, for the space of four and twenty years, in much love and unity, as help-meets one to another.”¹

CHAPTER VI.

WALES.

1662-64.

RICHARD DAVIES, after his settlement in Wales, as related in a former chapter,² was instrumental, by his gospel labors and consistent example, in advancing the cause of Truth.

In the year 1660, on account of his religious principles, he was imprisoned at Montgomery, together with other Dissenters of different persuasions, among whom was Cadwalader Edwards, who, while in prison, embraced the views of Friends.

Two years afterwards, Richard Davies, feeling a religious concern to appoint meetings for divine worship, his friend, Cadwalader Edwards, offered for that purpose the use of his house at Dolobran. The meeting was accordingly appointed, and proved to be a season of divine favor, in which the gospel was effectually preached. Among those in attendance was Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, who had been a justice

¹ Constancy and Truth Commended, *i. e.* Life and Writings of Ambrose Rigge, London, 1710, pp. 18, 27; and Besse, I. 713.

² Vol. I. ch. X.

of the peace and high sheriff of the county. His mind being seriously impressed, he was visited the next morning at his house by Richard Davies, who writes, that "they had a sweet, comfortable, refreshing time in the presence of the Lord; for in his presence is fulness of joy, and at his right hand there are pleasures forevermore."

The report being spread, that many in that vicinity were become Quakers, Charles Lloyd, Cadwalader Edwards, and several others, were summoned before Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury; and for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, they were committed to prison at Welch-Pool. The place of their confinement was exceedingly noisome, and they were debarred from receiving visits from their friends, being treated with far greater severity than the malefactors lodged in the same prison.

Not long after this, Thomas Lloyd, a student at Oxford, came to Welch-Pool to visit his brother Charles in prison, and during his intercourse with Friends there, his understanding was opened by divine grace, so that he embraced the Truth, and, taking up the cross of self-denial, became an obedient disciple of Christ. Having, while at Oxford, witnessed the abuse of Friends by the persecuting magistrates and wicked students, he did not return thither to prosecute his studies. Soon after his conviction, he joined Richard Davies in visiting the magistrates who had committed Friends to jail, and through their intervention, the prisoners were transferred to a more commodious apartment, where meetings for divine worship were held with them.

In the year 1662, there being a great convincement in Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire, several

Friends came to Welch-Pool, where the meeting continued to be kept in the prisoners' apartments. The magistrates and clergy, observing the number that resorted thither, were displeased, and said, "There came as many to the Quaker meeting as to the church."

The justices, being resolved to break up the meeting, came with the bailiffs and sergeants, on First-day, and finding Richard Davies engaged in prayer, they waited until he had concluded, and then took down the names of Friends in attendance. The wife of Richard Davies, calling to Thomas Corbet, one of the justices, said, "You have not taken down all the names." He asked her whose name was omitted. She showed him her child, about three months old. He said that was under age. She answered, "We are all as innocent from plotting, contriving, or thinking any harm to any man, as this little child." This incident, it was thought, made an impression upon him that was not soon effaced.

Richard Davies, Thomas Lloyd, and Samuel Lloyd, were committed to the care of the sergeants, who allowed them to go home; but a few days afterwards they were sent for by justice Corbet and the two bailiffs, who, after some discourse, proposed to them that if they would go to church and hear divine service they should be discharged. "When I was last there," said Richard Davies, "they turned me out of their church, and if I should make a promise to go there, it may be they would do the like by me again." "I will engage," replied Corbet, "that you shall not be turned out." Richard Davies then told them he intended to come. Justice Corbet seemed to be satisfied; but one of the bailiffs said, "Mr. Corbet, do

you think that the old Quaker will come to church, except it be to disturb our minister?" "Will you disturb the minister?" said Corbet. Richard Davies answered, "If God should put something in my heart to speak to the people, I hope you would not impose silence upon me?" Corbet rejoined, "God forbid that we should do so."

On First-day, when the bells began to ring, Richard Davies, taking his bible under his arm, and accompanied by his friends, Thomas and Samuel Lloyd, went to the parish house of worship. On their way, they called on justice Corbet, who told them he was not disposed to go that day, but he would send his man to see that they should not be affronted. When they reached the house, they found that the report of their intended visit had caused a very large congregation to assemble; but the rector was not there, the curate only having come to read the Liturgy. When the service was ended, Richard Davies stood up and said, "I suppose you are not ignorant of the cause of our coming here this day, which was thus: the magistrates of the town came to our meeting, and they found us upon our knees praying to Almighty God. They were civil while we were at prayer, and when we had done they took our names, and committed us three to prison, most of the rest that were at the meeting were prisoners before. And the magistrates told us if we would come to church we should be discharged, and now, you see, we are come according to their desire. But I find your priest is not here, and now I would have you to inform him that I say:

1. If he proves this to be a true church of Christ;
2. And that he is a true minister of Christ;

3. And that his maintenance is a gospel maintenance;

4. And this worship of yours to be the true worship of God, then will I be of your religion and come again to you.

But if he prove not this, then we must conclude,

1. Your church to be a false church;

2. And that he is no true minister of Christ;

3. And that his maintenance is no gospel maintenance;

4. And that your worship is not the true worship of God."

All the people were very civil, and listened to Richard Davies for a considerable time. When he had done, Thomas Lloyd spoke a few words very appropriately, and then the people said, "If Mr. Langford [the rector] will not prove us to be the true church of Christ, and our worship to be the true worship, then we will pay him no more tithes;" for what Richard Davies said, he proved out of the bible, for you see he had the bible in his hand all the while.

In the afternoon they again attended, and the rector being present, they listened to a long sermon from him. When he had done, and was about to leave, Richard Davies stepped upon a seat, and after desiring him to stay, propounded to him the same questions he had asked in the morning. The rector, however, turned his back and went away, upon which Richard Davies said, "Behold, the hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling." After he was gone, the Friends had a good opportunity to speak to the people in the grave-yard, and then returned to their homes in peace.

Justice Corbet sent for them soon after their return, and meeting them in the court fronting his house, he said he was sorry Mr. Langford was so uncivil that he did not answer their queries, which, he thought, were very reasonable. While they were talking, many neighbors gathered around them, and the Friends found another good opportunity to address the people on the way of life and salvation. "Mr. Corbet," said one of the company, "we think you will be a Quaker too." He answered, "I wish I were a Quaker in my life and conversation." He never afterwards was concerned in persecuting Friends; but, on the contrary, bore them much good-will, and being a counsellor-at-law, he subsequently appeared in defence of George Fox, before one of the courts in London, with ability and success.

In the year 1664, Richard Davies, although a prisoner at Welch-Pool, was enabled, through the permission of his keeper, to travel in the service of the gospel, and visited the meetings of Friends in several counties of England and Wales. Soon after his return, John Whitehouse, a follower of John Perrot, came to his house and held a meeting. Richard Davies, not being at home when the meeting began, came in soon after, and found that "an evil seed" had been sown, and had taken root among some of the Friends, who soon after joined with that corrupt spirit, which led them to have a light esteem of their brethren. On this account Richard Davies was brought under much religious exercise, and having himself been once entangled in the same snare, and mercifully restored; he was enabled to labor with wisdom and success for the restoration of others. "In time," he says, "the Lord broke in

among them, and opened the understanding of some of them, and they began to reason among themselves, and saw that they were in darkness, so that most of them were restored again into their first love, and lived and died faithful to Truth, except Cadwalader Edwards, who continued in stubbornness and hardness of heart, and endeavored to hurt such as were more simple-hearted." This individual, who seemed to run well for a time, and had suffered imprisonment for his religious testimony, having given way to a fault-finding, contentious spirit, became more and more hardened, until he abandoned himself to "an ungodly life and conversation." In his last illness, he seemed to repent of his transgressions, and told some who visited him, "That they who were preserved faithful among the people called Quakers would be happy, and that they were the people of God."¹

CHAPTER VII.

SCOTLAND.

1662-73.

It has been stated, in a previous chapter, that William Dewsbury visited Scotland, on a religious mission, in the latter part of the year 1662. In Aberdeen and the country adjacent, his labors in gospel love were effectual in bringing to a clearer perception of divine truth many devout inquirers,

¹ R. Davies' Life, 146.

who were made willing to follow the guidance of Christ, by his spirit within them, whithersoever he should be pleased to lead.

Foremost in that small but noble band, who then came forward to bear an open testimony to the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, was Alexander Jaffray, who had been chief magistrate of Aberdeen, and was a man of great account, as to religion, among the highest professors there.¹ Among the names of persons then convinced were, Alexander Gellie; Margaret, wife of Gilbert Molleson, a magistrate of the city, whose spiritual endowments gave her eminence among the strictest professors; Elizabeth, wife of Andrew Goodall, merchant; and Margaret, wife of John Scott, also a magistrate of the same place.

Soon after his conviction, Alex'r Jaffray, in the beginning of the year 1663, removed into the country, to live at Inverary, and was instrumental in settling a meeting there. By this means a merciful visitation of divine love was extended to some in that vicinity, and joyfully embraced by James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon, and John Robertson. How very acceptable to their waiting and thirsting souls was the doctrine of truth, may be judged by the language of Alex'r Jaffray, who said, "When he first heard that God had raised up a people in England, directing all to his pure light, spirit, and grace in their own hearts, as the most sure teacher and leader into all truth, religion, and worship, his very heart did leap within him for joy."²

About the same time, Geo. Gray and Nancy Sim³ were convinced of the principles of Friends. They

¹ Besse, II. 496, and J. Barclay's Rise of Friends in Scotland.

² Ibid.

³ Or, Agnes Simon, according to Besse.

were both so highly esteemed for uprightness and religious experience, that the minister of the parish where they dwelt, Samuel Walker of Monkeggie, boasted of them, saying, that "he had a weaver and a poor woman whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equalize, either for knowledge or good life." But when, shortly after, these highly esteemed individuals withdrew from his church and joined the Friends, he was greatly incensed.

George Gray, during a long and severe imprisonment, which he suffered on account of his religion, at Aberdeen, received a gift in the gospel ministry, and afterwards became a highly valued servant of the church. Although poor, as to the goods of this world, and "barely acquainted with the very rudiments of learning," he was so richly furnished with the treasures of heavenly wisdom, that his ministry was greatly blest to many, and admiration was not unfrequently expressed, "at the excellent matter, utterance, and pertinent connection, observed in one so devoid of acquired learning, and yet so thoroughly furnished in all respects unto his holy calling."¹

Nancy Sim, although a poor woman, readily opened her house, at a place called Ardiharald, for the purpose of holding religious meetings. But the house, being small, would not contain the large numbers who flocked thither; so that it became necessary to hold their meetings in the open field.

Among those who labored in the Lord's work, Elizabeth Johnston, daughter of a physician, Doctor William Johnston, became "a succourer of many," in promoting their spiritual progress. But the prin-

¹ Besse, II. 497.

cial instrument in gathering the flock under the guidance of the Shepherd of Israel was Patrick Livingston. He was born near Montrose, and convinced of the principles of Friends about the year 1659. About three years after this, when he was twenty eight years of age, having come northward in the work of the ministry, it pleased the good Husbandman to bless his labors with abundant fruit; so that a meeting of Friends was gathered in Kinmack, which afterwards grew to be the largest in the nation.

“The following is described as one of the many remarkable opportunities which it is said that he had with the tender and serious people thereabouts: While he was sitting, waiting on the Lord, among the first handful that were gathered into the like profession, in that part of the country — there being many other persons present, — the Friends were much bowed down and low in their minds, in a sense of ‘great straitness and hardness over the meeting.’ Patrick Livingston broke silence by declaring, that, for a sign and token of the loving-kindness of the Lord towards a seed or remnant raised and to be raised up in that country, he would reveal his gracious presence among them in a wonderful manner, before they parted. So little appearance of this was there when he spoke, and for a while after, that some of the Friends present, who were weak in the faith, fell under a great concern, lest this should not have been by any means fulfilled. But the Lord, who never fails to be a very present help in time of need unto all his patient, dependent little ones, was pleased at

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 32.

length to grant a plentiful outpouring of his mighty power, through his servant, even as a rushing stream, to the overcoming of the hearts of his children, and to the amazement of the people; — of which circumstance," says the account, "there are yet living several witnesses."¹

The increase of Friends in and about Aberdeen having alarmed the clergy of that city, they poured forth from their pulpits a torrent of abuse, in order to incite the magistrates to use their authority for the suppression of the infant society, and to rouse the indignation of the people. Their calumnies took effect with the populace of the city, and whenever any of the Friends appeared, they met with stoning, beating in the streets, pulling by the hair, and other abusive treatment, which the magistrates, instead of reproving, too often encouraged. By their order, Richard Rae of Edinburgh was kept in the Tolbooth, or public prison of Aberdeen, for the space of six months.

In the next year, 1664, Geo. Keith, who had been convinced of Friends' principles, coming to visit his brethren in Aberdeen, was cast into prison, and detained there ten months. He was a native of that city, had been educated in the Presbyterian church, and was a man of talents and learning, having attained the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Aberdeen.

He became a minister in the Society of Friends, was the author of several religious works, and for many years occupied a prominent position, as will be seen in the progress of this work.

¹ J. Barclay, 33.

Patrick Livingston was also imprisoned on account of his religious principles, during the space of seven months; but the animosity of the clergy of Aberdeen seems to have been still more violently excited against Alexander Jaffray. His blameless life, and the high position he had occupied, rendered him, in their estimation, a more dangerous seducer than any of his brethren. They accordingly incited Patrick Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen, and through him, Archbishop Sharpe, to take severe measures against him. He was summoned to appear before the High Commission court of their church, and on that occasion was enabled to bear a faithful testimony to the truth, being endued with wisdom that his adversaries could not gainsay or resist. The archbishop himself, who engaged in argument with him, could gain no advantage over him. Nevertheless, to satisfy the clergy, his sentence was, "that he should be confined to his own dwelling-house, and keep no meetings therein, nor go anywhere without the bishop's licence, under the penalty of a fine of 600 marks, Scots' money, which is £33 15s. sterling. This sum they estimated to be one-fourth of his yearly rents. To such an unjust sentence, his answer was, that it was better to obey God than man: and this obedience afterwards cost him many sufferings."¹

In the year 1666, Alexander Forbes having become attached to the principles of Friends, absented himself from the teachings of the minister at Alford, and was at his instigation prosecuted by the bishop of Aberdeen, who caused both him and Alexander Gellie to be carried to Edinburgh and committed to

¹ J. Barclay's Rise of Frds. in Scotland, 35, and Besse, II. 497,

the Cannon-gate prison for six months. They were, however, released before the time expired, without having in any way compromised their principles.

In the same year, Colonel David Barclay, of Ury, "descended from an ancient and honorable family among men," having been convinced of the principles of Friends, openly and thoroughly attached himself to the society. From an account of the chief incidents of his life, written by one of his descendants, a brief abstract is here subjoined.¹

David Barclay was born in the year 1610, at Kirk-tounhill, the seat and birthplace of his father of the same name, who, living much at court, and being of an easy disposition, became embarrassed in his affairs, and was obliged, in 1663, to sell the ancient estates, which had been held by the family for upwards of five hundred years. He, however, paid off his debts, and gave his son David, with the rest of his children, a liberal education.

David went on his travels into Germany, and there enlisted as a volunteer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; but after having been engaged in many battles, and quickly promoted to the rank of major, on the breaking out of the civil wars in his native country, he returned home. Being a man of great modesty, "he seldom, if ever, adverted to his military actions; nor is it likely he would do so, after he became one with the Friends in sentiment, as to the origin of 'wars and fightings,' except it were to testify against them."

Colonel Barclay was sent with an army, in 1646, to quell an insurrection made by the Earl of Crawford, who, with a number of Irish as well as Scottish

• ¹ J. Barclay's Rise of Friends in Scotland, 49 to 58.

forces, had wasted the north parts of the kingdom, and burnt several towns. But the Colonel coming up with them, entirely routed them. In the same year, he was sent, under Major-general Middleton, to the relief of Inverness, then besieged by the Marquis of Montrose, and the Earl of Seaforth, where his valor and skill contributed greatly to rout the enemy.

In the year 1647, he was married to Catherine Gordon, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstoun, second son of the Earl of Sutherland.

When King Charles I. was held a captive in the Isle of Wight by the forces of the English Parliament, an army of Scots was sent to release him, and the protection of the Scottish kingdom was committed to three officers, of whom Colonel David Barclay was one. This trust he executed with vigor and fidelity; but being considered a supporter of the royal cause, he was discharged from his post after Cromwell had gained the ascendancy.

Having relinquished a military life, he purchased the estate of Ury, and obtained a seat in Parliament. After the restoration of the Stuarts, he was, by order of the government, committed close prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, on the plea that he had been "a trustee under the usurper;" but his fidelity to the crown being established, he was released.

Some time previous to this imprisonment, having experienced many vicissitudes, and being impressed with the uncertainty of life, he began to think it was high time for him, who had spent so much of his day in the service of others, to bestow the remainder wholly in the service of God, and, by so doing, more distinctly answer the great end of his creation.

On looking around upon Christendom, he observed that each denomination looked upon itself as the only true Church, and that each, when it attained to power, had persecuted all others. It was obvious that all could not be right; and in order to determine for himself, he read with close attention the New Testament, as the only reliable record of Christian doctrines. He then saw that the religion of Christ consisted in "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit;" that it taught to be humble, patient, self-denying — to endure all things — to suffer all things; not to place our happiness or comfort in this world, or the things of it.

While in this inquiring state of mind; he heard of the people called Quakers, who, under much reproach and suffering, bore a remarkable testimony against all the follies and vanities of the world; and being in London, he sought for intercourse with them, which led to his being convinced of their principles. During his subsequent imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, being then in his fifty-sixth year, his religious convictions were much strengthened by the conversation and example of John Swintoun, a Friend who was incarcerated with him.¹

"It is said of Swintoun, that, during his imprisonment, he was more concerned to spread the views he had adopted, than to defend his own life; and it appears that, on this occasion, the governor of the castle, to prevent the infection of his opinions, shut him up for several weeks close prisoner, debarring him from all sort of intercourse."

When David Barclay observed that the Society of

¹ J. Barclay's Rise of Friends in Scotland, 56.

Friends were a sober, plain, self-denying people—that they loved one another—that they never fled from persecution on account of their testimonies—and that they carried out in practice the peaceable principles of Christianity, he joined in fellowship with them, and became as eminent for his meekness, as he had formerly been for his bravery. “It was remarked that none bore the indignities of the rude populace with more calmness than he. One of his relations, upon an occasion of uncommon rudeness, lamenting that he should now be treated so very differently from what he had formerly been, he answered, that he found more satisfaction, as well as honor, in being thus insulted for his religious principles, than when, some years before, it was usual for the magistrates, as he passed the city of Aberdeen, to meet him several miles, and conduct him to a public entertainment in their town-house, and then convey him so far out again, in order to gain his favor.”¹

His humility and sincerity were most remarkable in his whole conduct; but his deportment is said to have been particularly awful and striking in time of public prayer. In his person he is represented as one of the largest, strongest, and handsomest men that could be seen among many thousands; his hair, as he advanced in life, became white as flax.²

“His son, Robert Barclay, was born at Gordons-toun in the shire of Moray, the 23d of the tenth month, 1648. When very young, he had the appearance of a promising genius; and after passing through the best schools in his native country, was sent by his

¹ See Whittier's beautiful poem, “Barclay of Ury.”

² J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 58.

father to the Scottish college at Paris, of which his uncle was the rector. Here he made so great proficiency in his studies, as to gain the notice and particular approbation of the masters of the college, and became especially a favorite with his uncle, who offered to make him heir of all his property (which was very considerable) if he would remain with him. But his father, fearing that he might become tainted with the superstitions of Popery, and in compliance with his mother's request, went to Paris to bring him home when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavored to prevent his return; and proposed to purchase and give him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, 'He is my father, and must be obeyed.' Thus he sacrificed interest to filial duty; and the uncle, disobliged, left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France."

Robert Barclay's return to Scotland was in 1664, two years before his father joined the Society of Friends. David Barclay, desiring that his son should have his religion upon conviction, and not by imitation, used no persuasion to bring him over to his own opinions; but Robert, whilst visiting his relatives, some of whom were Catholics, and others Protestants, having examined with care their religious tenets and practices, found himself constrained by religious conviction to embrace the same principles and course of life chosen by his father. This conclusion he arrived at through the immediate operation of divine grace, not by means of instrumental ministry, for according to the testimony of his friend Andrew Jeffrey, "he was *reached* in time of silence." He was, however, helped and encouraged by the ministry of John Swan-

toun and James Halliday; and it may have been one of them, who, in the first Friends' meeting he attended, uttered a few words which are said to have had a considerable effect on his mind; they were these — "In stillness there is fulness, in fulness there is nothingness, in nothingness there is all things."¹

In one of his works, alluding to the power sometimes experienced in silent meetings, he says, "Not a few have come to be convinced of the Truth in this manner, of which I myself, in part, am a true witness, who not by strength of arguments, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and conviction of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness of the Truth; but by being secretly reached by this Life. For when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them, which touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life whereby I might feel perfectly redeemed. And, indeed, this is the surest way to become a Christian, to whom afterwards the knowledge and understanding of principles will not be wanting; but will grow up, so much as is needful, from this good root; and such a knowledge will not be barren nor unfruitful. After this manner, therefore, we desire all that come among us, to be proselyted; knowing that though thousands should be convinced in their understandings of all the truths we maintain, yet if they were not sensible of this inward life, and their souls not changed from unrighteousness

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 60.

to righteousness, they could add nothing to us; for this is that cement whereby we are joined as to the Lord, so to one another, and without this none can worship with us.”¹

Some additional particulars of Robert Barclay's early religious experience may be gathered from his work on Universal Love. “My first education,” he says, “from my infancy up, fell amongst the strictest sort of Calvinists, those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect, in the heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, but all the other Reformed churches abroad.” . . . “I had scarce got out of my childhood when I was, by the permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of Papists, and my tender years and immature capacity not being able to withstand and resist the insinuations that were used to proselyte me in that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued therein for a time, until it pleased God through his rich love and mercy to deliver me out of those snares, and give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects,” “I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to this principle of love, seeing the straitness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare how opposite they are to universal love.” “The time that intervened betwixt my forsaking the church of Rome, and uniting with those with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several.”²

¹ Barclay's Apology, Prop. XI., § VII.

² Barclay's Works, London, 1692, p. 678.

In the Fourth month, 1667, David Barclay sent his son Robert to reside at Ury, being accompanied by David Falconer, a worthy Friend who had several times suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake. Robert was then in his nineteenth year, and had recently been convinced of the principles of Friends. He was one of those who composed the meeting for divine worship, first held at Ury in that year, and which continued to be held there, in a building adjacent to the family mansion, for more than one hundred and twenty years. It was not long before Robert Barclay was called to the gospel ministry, in which he labored effectually; but did not travel so extensively as some others. His most eminent services as a disciple of Christ consisted in his many excellent and able writings for the promotion and defence of Christian principles, which will again be noticed in the progress of this work.

In the year 1666, James Urquhart, whose conviction of Friends' principles has already been mentioned, fell under censure of the Presbytery, and was excommunicated. The sentence of excommunication was sent to William Forbes, minister of the place where Urquhart resided, with instructions for him to publish it from the pulpit. This injunction he was very reluctant to comply with, being conscious of the rectitude of the person against whom it was directed; but his salary being at stake, he smothered his convictions, and read the sentence as directed. He was afterwards so deeply distressed and self-condemned that his mind became discomposed, and he could not perform the functions of his calling, until he publicly confessed that his discomposure was a just judgment of God upon him for cursing with his

tongue a person whom, in his conscience, he believed to be a very honest man.¹

Notwithstanding his severe sufferings and public acknowledgment, he again fell into an error of similar character, but even more aggravated. His daughter, Jane Forbes, was convinced of the doctrines of Friends, and joined herself with them. She was excommunicated by the Presbytery, and her father was required to read her sentence from the pulpit. His case was really pitiable; for without sufficient religious principle to sustain him, he saw, on the one hand, that his living depended on his compliance with the requisition, and on the other, that his peace of mind would be destroyed if he violated the dictates of his conscience. At length he yielded to considerations of expediency, and determined to read the excommunication; but having uttered some preparatory prayers, he was struck dead at the very moment when he was about to deliver the sentence. "A melancholy and remarkable exit, wherein nature was observed to sink under the weight and oppression of a conflict between conscience and self-interest."²

In the year 1667, several Friends were brought under guard from Inverary to Aberdeen, where, after they had been imprisoned some time, the magistrates caused them to be conducted through the streets like criminals, and then sent them under guard towards Edinburgh. Soon after leaving the city, one of the prisoners, William Gellie, a very infirm man, sat down, and the rest of the Friends followed his example, refusing to go any further unless horses were provided. At this, one of the magistrates, being

¹ Besse, II. 498.

² Ibid.

enraged, struck William Gellie most severely. The Friends, however, sat still, refusing to proceed, and the magistrates, finding they could not prevail, returned to Aberdeen, leaving their prisoners at liberty, who went to their homes. But what was most remarkable, the persecuting magistrate, on reaching his house, found that his son had broken his arm by a fall, just at the time that the father was beating the poor invalid by the road-side. This coincidence had the effect of awakening his conscience, and he declared that he would never strike a Quaker again.¹

About this time Alexander Jaffray was afflicted with a quincy, so that he could not speak, nor scarcely eat or drink, insomuch that his life was despaired of by all who beheld him. In this condition he signified by writing, that his faith was steadfast in the Lord, who, he believed, would raise him up for further service; a prediction that was subsequently verified.

In the following year, while yet in a debilitated condition, he was taken from his own house and carried to prison at the instigation of the Bishop of Aberdeen, to satisfy a fine of 600 marks formerly imposed on him for suffering religious meetings at his house. His imprisonment continued nine months and sixteen days, and he would probably have died there, had not the civil power relieved him from ecclesiastical tyranny; the King's Privy Council giving an order for his release without the payment of the fine or prison fees.²

About the year 1668, Lilius Skene, wife of Alexander Skene, one of the magistrates of Aberdeen, a woman highly esteemed for her religious attainments,

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 68.

² Besse, II. 1499.

was brought under a religious concern to join herself in membership with Friends. She found, however, that her progress was impeded by prejudices she had imbibed from hearing the false reports propagated by the clergy and others;—as, that the Quakers denied the Scriptures, and did not pray in the name of Jesus. This impediment was removed in the following manner:—She was taken ill, and kept her chamber in an apartment under the room occupied by Barbara Forbes, a Friend who was remarkable for her humility and devotional spirit. In her dwelling, Friends were accustomed occasionally to meet, so near the apartment of Liliat Skene that she could distinctly hear what passed. “Attentively listening on one occasion, she plainly heard two English women exercised both in preaching and prayer, whose lively testimonies she observed to be full of Scripture expressions, and their petitions, put up in the name of Christ, as well as accompanied by his life and power.”¹ By this means her prejudices were removed, and her mind being brought under the power of divine Truth, was established in it.

It was not long after the conviction of this excellent woman, when her husband, Alexander Skene, who had been a zealous opposer of Friends, became a sincere convert to their principles. About the same time, Thomas Mercer, a person of some note in Aberdeen, embraced the same views. The civil offices held by these individuals, and the high position they occupied in society, increased the alarm and indignation of the clergy. At the joint solicitation of the four ministers of Aberdeen, a synod was

¹ Besse, II. 499.

convened, which adopted an address to the King's Council at Edinburgh, desiring that effectual measures might be taken to rid the land of the Quakers, who were increasing among them. This petition was presented by two deputies appointed by the Synod; but to their great disappointment, the council only referred them to the Act of Parliament, which ordained that all who withdrew "from their parish church be admonished by the preachers before two sufficient witnesses, and then after an absence of three successive weeks, 'they be fined one-eighth of their valued rents.'"

In the year 1669, the little company of Friends in Aberdeen had to mourn the removal by death of one of their earliest and most valued members. Margaret Mollison, the wife of Gilbert Mollison, was in her youth a seeker of spiritual good, and joined herself in worship with the most strict professors of religion in Aberdeen. When she afterwards heard the inward and spiritual reign of Christ, preached by some ministering Friends from England, their message was joyfully received, and their doctrines cordially embraced.

Coming to taste the unspeakable love of God, in Christ Jesus, she delighted often to retire therein, out of the cumbering cares of her family and business, and although her love to her husband, and cares of her many children were great, yet her chief delight was to draw nearer and nearer unto the true and living God,—the beloved of her wrestling soul.

Being suddenly taken ill, and sensible that her end was approaching, she manifested by her deportment and language that she felt an assurance of everlasting peace. Among several neighbors that were with her

in her illness, was an eminent professor and old acquaintance of her's, who desired those about her to pray for her, which she hearing, answered, "My Advocate is with the Father, and my peace is made: I am feeding at a table none of you perceiveth." While some persons present were lamenting that she was likely to be taken away from her nine children, who were around her bed, she answered, "As many of them as shall truly fear the Lord, shall be provided for." Addressing her weeping friends, she said, "Settle yourselves and be staid in your minds, for you are now to see the last;" and just before she expired, she declared, "Now interruption is to cease, and my eternal joy is already begun."¹

A few months subsequently to the death of Margaret Mollison, her daughter Christian was married to Robert Barclay. "She had, through much suffering and hardship, in her sixteenth year, embraced the testimonies held by Friends, and was one whose name and character truly coincided,—a daughter worthy of such a mother, and a wife worthy of such a husband."²

The magistrates and clergy of Aberdeen had previously manifested their enmity towards Friends by stirring up the populace to abuse them; but when the marriage of Robert Barclay took place, their anger was more violently excited, for it was the first proceeding of the kind that had taken place in the city. The couple were married at the house of Gilbert Mollison, the bride's father, and the ceremony was, as usual among Friends, simple but solemn, and performed before many witnesses. The clergy of the

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 70.

² J. Barclay's Rise of Friends, etc., 83.

city, conceiving that their authority was slighted by this act, were so exasperated that, by the bishop's means, they procured letters to summon Robert Barclay before the Privy Council for an unlawful marriage. It appears, however, that they did not put the summons in execution.¹

In the First month, 1670, Friends being collected to hold their monthly meeting, the magistrates sent officers to disperse the assembly. All the men were arrested and conveyed to the council-house, where the magistrates endeavored to dissuade them from the practice, and, after taking a list of those who came from the country, dismissed them. They immediately returned to the meeting, where they found the women Friends still engaged in the worship of God. They had not long resumed their places in meeting, when the officers again appeared, and with much violence dragged them back to the council-house, where the Provost and Council charged them with contumacious resistance of the civil authority, and sentenced them all to imprisonment in the Tolbooth, excepting Robert Barclay and Patrick Livingston. Among those committed were William Gellie and James Forbes.

Robert Barclay having settled with his father at Ury, published, in the year 1670, his first religious work. It is entitled "Truth cleared from calumnies," being an able vindication of Friends from the gross aspersions contained in a book called "A Dialogue between a Quaker and a stable Christian," written by a clergyman of Aberdeen. About the same time a monthly meeting of Friends was established at Ury;

¹ J. Barclay's Rise of Friends, etc., 83.

also a more public or general meeting was held half-yearly, and notwithstanding the persecutions to which the society was subjected, it continued to prosper.

In the year 1672, Robert Barclay felt constrained by a sense of religious duty to pass through three of the principal streets of Aberdeen, clothed in sack-cloth, "after the manner of some of the ancient prophets, and with similar motives."

This humiliating service proved to be a severe trial of his faith and obedience, but believing it to be a divine requisition, he submitted to be a "spectacle to men," and a sign to call them to repentance. He soon after wrote a short address to the inhabitants of Aberdeen, in which he says: "This was the end and tendency of my testimony, to call you to repentance by this signal and singular step; which I, as to my own will and inclination, was as unwilling to be found in, as the worst and most wicked of you can be averse from receiving or laying it to heart."¹

In the early part of this year, several persons in Aberdeen and its vicinity withdrawing from the national worship, the clergy were so incensed as to use their influence with the magistrates, to cause the walls of Friends' burying-ground to be demolished, and a body that had recently been interred there to be taken up and buried in another place. Some other interments being afterwards made, the magistrates continued the barbarous practice they had begun, until the case was brought before the king's council, and an order issued for its discontinuance.

The convincement of Andrew, son of Alexander Jaffray, and that of several others of Aberdeen, and

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 89 and 317.

parts adjacent, in the year 1673, excited afresh the indignation of the clergy.¹ At their instigation, an order was obtained from the king's council, summoning nineteen of the Friends to appear before them at Edinburgh. They accordingly went, and after attending two sittings of the council, they were fined; but their fines were never collected, in consequence of a proclamation subsequently issued by the king's commissioners, remitting all penalties for non-conformity, except such as were engaged for by the parties' bond, or other security. This cleared the Friends, as their principle was neither to pay the fines, nor in any way to compound for them.

Alexander Jaffray, whose exemplary life and religious zeal had been so signally blest to the society of Friends in Scotland, was now approaching the end of his pilgrimage. During his illness, which continued twelve days, he uttered many expressions affording evidence of the peace and joy he then experienced. "It was," he said, "his great joy and comfort, in that hour, that ever he had been counted worthy to bear a testimony to, and suffer for, that precious testimony of Christ Jesus, his inward appearance in the hearts of the children of men, visiting all by his light, grace, and spirit, that convinceth of sin; and that it was and would be the great judgment and condemnation of many in this nation, particularly of the professors, that they have so slighted and despised, yea, hated this light and the witnesses thereunto."

He foretold that a great trial of their faith would come upon Friends in that land, and that some who were not what they professed to be, should be dis-

¹ J. Barclay's *Friends in Scotland*, 101.

covered and fall, but the upright and humble should be preserved. This prediction was judged to be fulfilled during the time of severe suffering which, within three years, was permitted to befall the Friends of Aberdeen.

A little before his departure, he said he had been with his God, and had seen deep things, about which time he was filled with the power of God in a wonderful manner, which much affected those present; and in a little time after he gently passed away, being on the 7th of the Fifth month, 1673, aged 59 years. He was buried in a piece of ground set apart near his own house.

Little more than three months had elapsed, when his widow was called to follow him to "the house appointed for all living." In the monthly meeting's record at Aberdeen, the following minute appears under date of 2d of Seventh month, 1673: "Sarah Cant, relict of our late dear friend, Alexander Jaffray, came into our meeting, and owned [the way of] Truth publicly, [as it is professed by Friends,] which was a speaking testimony, considering her parentage and education; she being mightily wrought upon to avow truth publicly, by her worthy husband's remarkable dying, with such demonstration therein." Her decease took place the 24th of the following month.

In explanation of the foregoing record, it is proper to observe, that in Scotland, at that date, "the married woman usually retained her maiden name."¹

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, Note D.

CHAPTER VIII.

IRELAND, AND ISLE OF MAN.

1661-70.

DURING some years after the restoration of Charles II., the condition of Friends in Ireland was similar to that of their brethren and sisters in England; being exposed to much suffering on account of their religious testimonies.¹ William Edmundson, whose eminent services in that nation have been noticed in a preceding chapter,² continued to stand in the foremost rank as an able and successful advocate of Christian principles.

In his Journal, under date 1661, he mentions that their meetings were frequently broken up by their persecutors; and that there was a general imprisonment of Friends throughout the nation. He was then a prisoner at Maryborough, with many more Friends, "yet," he says, "the Lord supported and bore up our spirits above sufferings and men's cruelties; so that Friends were fresh and lively in the Lord's goodness and covenant of Light and Life, contented in the will of God; for we had many heavenly and blessed meetings in prison, and the Lord's presence with us to our great comfort and consolation in Him, who wrought liberty for us in his own time."

"After things were a little settled, and people's

¹ Rutty's Hist. of Friends in Ireland.

² Vol. I., Chap. IX.

minds began to cool, I found something upon my spirit to make application to the government for Friends' liberty. I got leave for myself of the sheriff for twenty days, so went to Dublin and petitioned the lords justices, who then were the Earls of Orrery and Mountrath, and Sir Morris Eustace, chancellor, that Friends in the nation might be set at liberty. I was closely exercised in that service; but the Lord's power gave me courage, opened my way to proceed, and gave success to it; so that I got an order for Friends' liberty throughout the nation, though they [the justices] were full of business, and abundance of people of all sorts attending."¹

In order to secure the execution of this warrant, William Edmundson obtained several copies of it, signed by the justices, and sent them to the sheriffs in those counties where Friends were in prison. Soon after, he visited Friends' meetings throughout the nation, and inquired whether the order was obeyed by the sheriffs. This service, which occupied about six weeks, was abundantly rewarded, for Friends "were sweetly comforted in the Lord, and one in another."

On his return, he found Friends in his own county still kept in prison, and on going to the high sheriff to inquire the reason, he was told they were detained for fees, and that "they should pay their fees, or lie there and rot." He immediately obtained certificates from the magistrates, showing the cause of their detention, and then proceeding to Dublin, he waited on the Earl of Mountrath, who kindly received him, and gave an order to the sheriff for the liberation of the Friends without the payment of fees. This order was

¹ W. Edmundson's Journal.

promptly obeyed by the sheriff, but not without the expression of much displeasure.

While in Dublin, William Edmundson met with John Burnyeat and Robert Lodge, who had been travelling through Ireland in the service of the gospel, but were then in prison. He applied to the mayor, and obtained their liberty.

The Anglican church being now re-established in Ireland, the clergy were exceedingly rigid in the exaction of tithes and church rates. The men belonging to the Friends' meeting of Mountmelick, were summoned to appear at the bishop's court, and after being excommunicated, were mostly imprisoned. William Edmundson received the same sentence, but the officers declined to enforce it, alleging as a reason that "there were too many in prison already, who were kept from their labors and their families." It was observed that the imprisoned Friends were cheerfully given up to suffer for the testimony of truth, and that every one applied himself to some useful employment.

George Clapham, the priest of Mountmelick, evinced the bitterness of his feelings towards Friends by endeavoring to prevent the miller from grinding their corn, and the market people from dealing with them. He watched the markets, and when he saw any persons dealing with Friends, he sent his apparitor to summon them to the bishop's court. This tribunal being greatly dreaded, many of those who were summoned, paid money to be excused from attendance.

This priest told the people, that "If they met any of the Friends in the highway they should shun them, as they would shun the plague, and if they owed them anything they need not pay it, or if they knocked

them on the head, the law would bear them out." The people, being generally disgusted with the malevolence of the priest, withdrew their confidence from him, and manifested their sympathy for Friends by acts of kindness.

William Edmundson, having drawn up an account of Clapham's proceedings, went to Dublin and petitioned the government for redress. The persecuting priest and his apparitor were summoned before the privy-council and sharply reproved. The primate was disposed to punish them; but William Edmundson said to him, "We desire nothing but to be quiet, and to live peaceably in our callings, and that they may desist from their cruelty."¹ This forgiving disposition conciliated the favor of the rulers, and especially of Boyle, the primate of Ireland, whose moderation and kindness mitigated the severity of the persecuting laws.²

Clapham, being exasperated by the exposure of his malevolence, continued to persecute William Edmundson. He despoiled him of his goods to a considerable amount for church rates, and, being a justice of the peace, he sent a constable to Friends' meeting at Mountmelick to apprehend him, and issued a warrant for his commitment to prison. The Earl of Mountrath superseded the warrant, and set him at liberty until the assizes. He also used his influence with the court to counteract the malicious designs of the priest, and the indictment was quashed, to the great joy of the people.

A number of Friends, at Mountmelick, being subsequently indicted by Clapham for ecclesiastical de-

¹ W. Edmundson's Journal, 50.

² Gough, II. 267.

mands, William Edmundson went to Dublin, and petitioned the Lord Lieutenant and Council for relief. Being admitted into the Council Chamber, he was asked by the Lord Lieutenant, "Why Friends did not pay tithes to the ministers?" He answered by showing from the Scriptures, "That the law was ended that gave tithes, and the priesthood changed that received them, by the coming and suffering of Christ, who had settled a ministry on better terms, and ordered them a maintenance." On being asked, "What maintenance the ministers must have?" he replied, "Christ's allowance"; and he showed them from the Scriptures what it was. William Edmundson, being favored, as he believed, by divine aid, was enabled to explain the subject so clearly, that, although there were three bishops present, no objection was made; and the Lord Lieutenant said, "God bless you!" adding, that "Friends should not suffer for not going to the established worship, nor for going to their own meetings." This declaration, being reported abroad, was considered an intimation that Friends should be tolerated in their religion, and was the means of affording them much relief.

In the year 1668, Richard Pike of Cork, whose health had been impaired by a long imprisonment for conscience' sake, was called from the sorrows of time to the joys of eternity. In early manhood, he came from England, as an officer in a troop of horse, and after the war was ended he remained in Ireland, where he became possessed of land, and engaged in farming. In the year 1655, he was, through the powerful ministry of Edward Burrough, convinced of the Truth as held by Friends, and joined in communion with them. After the restoration of the Stuarts, he, with

many other Friends, was imprisoned; and, being confined in a crowded jail, he was taken dangerously ill. The jailer, being apprehensive he would die, allowed him to go home for a few days, where he continued to grow weaker. In this condition, he was visited by Susanna Mitchell, a faithful minister, who was moved to pray by his bedside, with great fervency of spirit. The power of the Lord seized upon the feeble invalid; he uttered many heavenly expressions; and, being strengthened in spirit, he rose from his bed, put on his clothes, and went to the prison, where he appeared among his fellow-sufferers as one who was raised from his death-bed to give them his last farewell. After having a good meeting among the prisoners, he returned to his home, where in a few days he finished his course, rejoicing in the Lord.

One of his children, Joseph Pike, who was born in the year 1657, became an exemplary and useful member of the society, was much engaged in the administration of Church discipline, and has left an instructive memoir of his life. After narrating his early religious experience, he thus continues: "Having given some relation of the various exercises I have passed through, I can now, from living and certain experience, say, that it is not being educated in the form of truth; it is not the profession of it, nor being called a Quaker; it is not barely frequenting our religious meetings; it is not even being of a moral conversation, that will do or be acceptable to the Lord, unless we also witness a possession and enjoyment of the Holy Truth, and the life and power of it in our souls. Therefore I earnestly desire, that the professors of it, and such as have been educated

in the form of it, may not rest satisfied therein, but turn your minds inward to the Lord, to the gift of his Holy Spirit there manifested, that you may thereby experimentally witness a growth, a progress, and finally an inheritance in the Lord's eternal truth, of which you make a profession; for this alone gives you true acceptance, and a union and fellowship with Him."¹

From the year 1665 to 1668, it does not appear that Friends were subjected to much persecution in Ireland, except on account of tithes; and during this time, many embracing their principles, several new meetings were settled. As their numbers increased, the necessity for church government or discipline became more apparent; and William Edmundson having been the chief instrument in gathering the society in Ireland, was much concerned for its preservation and spiritual growth. With this view, Provincial meetings were established, to be held once in six weeks, having the same duties assigned them as the Quarterly meetings in England, and, like these, instituted before the establishment of Monthly meetings. The chief business of the Provincial meetings was to take care of the poor, the fatherless, and the widows; to see that marriages were properly solemnized; and to watch over the moral deportment of their members.

In the year 1669, George Fox, accompanied by Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs, went on a gospel mission to Ireland. At Dublin they attended Friends' meeting, which was large, and highly favored with the evidence of divine life; they then went to a Province

¹ Life of Jos. Pike, Friend's Lib. II. 363.

meeting, that continued two days, one of which was devoted to divine worship, the other to the affairs of the church. At another place they had a good, refreshing meeting, after which some Papists, being displeased, were very abusive. George Fox, hearing of it, sent a challenge to them, with all their priests, "to come forth and try their God and their Christ, which they made of bread and wine." No answer being received from them, he remarked that "they were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but these durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests did not eat their god as these did, and then make another."

Some of the magistrates and priests being desirous to arrest George Fox in his religious labors, caused a warrant to be issued for his apprehension; but although he continued openly and boldly to pursue his course, their malevolent purpose was providentially frustrated: "The Lord," he says, "disappointed all their counsels, defeated all their designs against me, and by his good hand of providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends, and spread truth through that nation. For meetings were very large, Friends coming to them far and near, and other people flocking in. The powerful presence of the Lord was precious felt with and amongst us, whereby many of the world were reached, convinced, gathered to the truth, and the Lord's flock was increased, and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh! the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! So that in the power and spirit of the Lord many

together have broken out into singing, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts.”¹

Having visited the meetings of Friends throughout Ireland, George Fox returned to England, accompanied by his friends, Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, and Thomas Briggs, leaving behind them John Stubbs to finish his religious service.

George Fox, during his visit to Ireland, was much engaged in settling their meetings for discipline, and establishing monthly meetings, which he had the year before recommended in his epistles. At Dublin he proposed the holding of their “men’s and women’s meetings” for discipline every two weeks, which was agreed to; and the General Meetings, consisting of some from each Province, were concluded to be held half-yearly, in the sixth and ninth months.

This year, Thomas Janney, a minister from Cheshire, was engaged in the service of the gospel among Friends in Ireland. He afterwards emigrated to Pennsylvania, and will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.²

THE ISLE OF MAN.

This island, situated in the Irish Sea, was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Sodor and Man; the civil jurisdiction was in the hands of the Earl of Derby; and both these functionaries were men of the most implacable temper. There were very few Friends on the Island, and the bishop

¹ G. Fox’s Journal.

² Rutt’s History of Friends in Ireland, 122.

was determined that these few should renounce their religion, or abandon their homes.

In the year 1662, William Callow and Evan Christen, for refusing to pay, the former sixteen pence and the latter two pence, demanded by the priest for bread and wine for the sacrament, were committed to prison, and confined in a dungeon, without fire, candle, or bedding, having only straw to lie on, and a stone for their pillow. Here they lay sixteen days, until some of their neighbors, touched with compassion, paid their fines, without the knowledge of the prisoners, and thus procured their liberation.

William Callow had previously suffered the loss of his corn by distress, for an ecclesiastical demand. It was stored by the officer in a neighboring barn, and the next First-day the priest announced, after sermon, that the poor of the parish might go to the barn and take the corn, which the governor had ordered to be given them. Some of the poor, who were present, remarked, "That it had been more charitable to have given his own goods to the poor, than other men's, and that they would receive none of it." Others, however, went to the place with the priest and soldiers, where William Callow was also in attendance. The priest called several times to the poor to hold their bags; but none of them came forward. They would not partake of the spoils of oppression, and withdrew, one by one, leaving the corn with the priest and soldiers. Afterwards, a small portion of it was taken by a single individual, but most of it was left until it was spoiled, and then thrown into the street.¹

¹ Besse, I. 269.

In the spring of the year 1664, William Callow and some other Friends were again imprisoned; and soon afterwards, William's wife being sick of a fever, he was permitted, for two days only, to visit her. In the following autumn, an order was issued by the bishop for the imprisonment of all the women Friends on the island, and they were accordingly arrested; but William Callow's wife, being found too feeble to walk or ride, was sent back to her home, while the others were conducted to prison. The apparitor took them to the deepest part of the dungeon, and then, taking off his hat, pronounced what he called the bishop's curse, to this effect, viz.: "I do here, before the standers-by, deliver you up into St. German's prison by the law of my lord, the bishop and his clergy, you being cast out of the church by excommunication; and I do take witness that I do deliver you over from the power of the bishop and his law, to be, and continued, the Earl of Derby's prisoners." Here they were kept for many months in a close, unhealthy dungeon, to satisfy the vindictive feelings of the bishop and his clergy.

In the summer of 1665, an order was read to the prisoners from the Earl of Derby, that they should forthwith be transported to some other land; and soon after, two priests came and admonished them to conform to the church, otherwise they must be banished forthwith.

On the 14th of September they were put on board a ship, of which Thomas Brittain was master; but as the prisoners entered on one side, the seamen went out on the other into a boat, telling the master "they were not hired to carry people out of their native country against their wills, neither would they go

with him if he carried them." The captain seeing his men resolute, set the prisoners ashore, and then the seamen returned to the ship. Soon after, several vessels came into the harbor, but the captains all refused to carry the prisoners. The soldiers would have forced them on board a ship commanded by Anthony Nicholson, but he strenuously opposed it.

About midnight, however, four of the prisoners, viz.: William Callow, Evan Christen, Jane Christen, and Mary Callow, were taken from their beds, and hurried on shipboard. Two of them were put on board Nicholson's ship, and the others on board a ship commanded by William Crossthwaite; both captains being compelled to take them. They sailed to Dublin, but were not allowed to land the prisoners, Captain Crossthwaite being required by the mayor to take them all back to the Isle of Man. Instead of complying with this order, the captain took the four prisoners to Whitehaven in Cumberland, where his vessel belonged; and there put them on shore with a certificate stating the circumstances under which he received them.

A justice of the peace being informed by the prisoners of their condition, caused them to be restored to the same vessel, with an order to the captain that he should land them on the Isle of Man. He took them, however, again to Dublin, and was there required to give security that he would land them on the Isle of Man; but he once more landed them at Whitehaven. The two women he afterwards carried to the island, where they were again shut up in prison, while William Callow and Evan Christen sought an interview with the Earl of Derby, hoping to gain his favor or protection. Their solicitations were fruitless;

he referred them to the bishop, with whom they afterwards had a long conference.

They represented to him that they were persecuted and banished from place to place for conscience' sake, and that they believed he was the author of their sufferings.

Bishop.—You are not persecuted, but banished because you do not come to the church.

Answer.—When did Christ or his apostles banish any for not coming to hear them as you do?

Bishop.—Yes, many.

Answer.—Prove it; for I cannot remember that I ever read of any.

Bishop.—Did not Paul cast them out that were disorderly in the church?

Answer.—But he did not banish or imprison them that were without, if they did not come in, as thou hast caused to be done to us.

Bishop.—I did not banish you neither, but excommunicated you, as he did; and I have no more to say to you.

Answer.—But neither Christ nor his apostles did force them that were without to come in, or else be banished, or compelled, as thou hast done to us.

Bishop.—Yes, Christ bade his servants go and compel them to come in.

Answer.—That was a parable concerning a certain man that had bidden many to a feast, who began to make their excuses, one of his land, another of his wife, another of his oxen. Mark what he said: "They shall not taste of my supper." He did not say, banish them and persecute them.

Bishop.—You are not persecuted, but punished,

because you do not come to the church, nor obey the law, but are in rebellion.

Answer. — We are not in rebellion, but they that act against the Spirit of Christ in their consciences are in rebellion.

Bishop. — But why will you not come to the church ?

Answer. — We do not own your church to be the true church.

Bishop. — Why, what have you to say against it ?

Answer. — It is but a house of lime, wood, and stone, and therefore not the true church, for the church is in God.

Bishop. — We matter not what you call the place ; the congregation that meet in it is the church.

Answer. — They that meet in the name of the Lord, and in his power to worship him in spirit and in truth, we own ; but they that meet to worship with the body, and to make a confession with their lips of other men's lines made ready to their hands ; and as soon as they have done they fight and quarrel, cheat and deceive one another, these are not the true church of Christ.

Bishop. — How shall I know that you have the Spirit of God ?

Answer. — Thou mayst try us ; for every tree is known by its fruits, and an evil tree cannot bear good fruits, nor a good tree evil fruits.

The bishop remained inexorable, saying they should not return to the island if he could help it ; but he referred them to the dean whose name was Fletcher.

They accordingly went to the dean, with whom they had much discourse. Toward the end of the conference the Countess of Derby and the Bishop

came into the apartment, and heard the dean charging the Friends with disobedience to the higher power, to which the latter replied, "We are obedient to the Higher Power, both of church and state."

Countess. — To the Friends, — What is it then that you do hold to be the Higher Power?

Friends. — The power of God, which crucified Paul to the world, and the world to him.

Countess. — It is true.

Bishop. — What will you say of St. James, who says, "We must obey the king?" Will you make the king God?

Friends. — We do own the king's power over the outward man, but I hope you will allow the power of God, who is King of kings, to be above the king's power.

Countess. — It is true: the power of God is above the king's power.

Friends. — We own both, and for our obedience to the power of God, the higher power, we are persecuted, and do stand here this day under persecution, desiring an order for our return to our native country.

Thus the conference ended without redress to the banished Friends. They were determined, however, to risk a visit to their distressed families, and accordingly embarked for the Isle of Man. On their arrival, they were detained some time on board the vessel, and then suffered to go to their homes for one month, after which, by order of the bishop, they were put on board again, and taken back to Whitehaven. In the meantime their estates on the Island, both real and personal, were confiscated.

William Callow afterwards laid his case before

the Duke of York and Prince Rupert. The Prince, being touched with compassion, gave him a letter to the Earl of Derby, desiring that the Friends might be restored to their ancient possessions. The Earl returned an answer, stating that there were then no Quakers or other Dissenters on the Island, and he was not willing to have the place infected with schism or heresy. There were, however, at that time, four women Friends in prison on the Island. William Callow, whose wife was one of the prisoners, determined to return once more to his family, which he succeeded in doing, but was immediately committed to prison by order of the bishop; and being soon after put on board a vessel, was landed at Liverpool. His wife, and the other women imprisoned with her, were separated from their children, and banished to England. After remaining a considerable time in the county of Cumberland, William Callow and his wife and Jane Christen were, in the year 1669, by a magistrate's warrant, sent back to the Isle of Man. They were soon after banished, and landed at Dublin, where the mayor ordered them to be taken back to the Island; but the bishop, regardless of the weak and suffering condition of the women, caused them to be sent off immediately, and they were landed at Peel, in Lancashire. On notice being given of their landing, two magistrates issued an order for their return to the Island, in pursuance of which William Callow and Jane Christen were put on shipboard; but Anne Callow, being in a condition unfit for removal, was suffered to remain. At the same time, Evan Christen and Alice Coward were put on board another vessel.

On their arrival at the island, they were prohibited from landing, except William Callow, who was taken before the governor, and by his orders, put on board a ship commanded by Ralph Harwood, bound for Virginia. The seamen refused to go the voyage if they carried him, saying, "They never heard of a ship that carried Quakers against their will that ever prospered." The captain promised them that he would carry William Callow no further than Ireland, and accordingly he was landed about forty miles from Dublin. He went immediately to Dublin, and thence to Whitehaven in Cumberland. About the same time, Evan Christen, with his aged mother and Alice Coward, arrived in England.

After this series of remarkable persecutions, extending through five years, it does not appear that the Friends banished from the Isle of Man were further molested; but there is reason to believe that others of their persuasion remained in the island, or subsequently avowed the same principles; for we find on the records several other cases of suffering, during the succeeding fifteen years.¹

¹ Besse, I. 269 to 288.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLAND.

1664-66.

It is painful to enter into the details of the cruel scourgings, imprisonments, and banishments, to which the faithful witnesses of Truth were exposed in Great Britain and her colonies; and therefore it is deemed best to abridge the recital of them, while endeavoring to preserve from oblivion the names of those who are justly entitled to a place among the memorials of the righteous.

After the liberation of George Fox from Leicester prison,¹ he went to London, and thence proceeded on his travels through twenty-nine of the counties of England and Wales, preaching the gospel and gathering souls to the heavenly kingdom. Although it was a time of great suffering among Friends on account of their religious principles, yet he who stood most conspicuous as a faithful pastor of the flock, was for more than a year unmolested in his labors.

In 1664, on arriving at Swarthmore, he was informed that Colonel Kirby had sent thither his lieutenant and searched the house for him. Next morning, under an impression of religious duty, he went to see Colonel Kirby at his house, and in the presence of several of the gentry, inquired of him whether he had anything against him. The colonel

¹ See Chapter III.

answered that he had not; but he added, "Mistress Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, for they are contrary to the act." George Fox replied, "The act does not take hold on us, but on such as meet to plot and raise insurrections against the king; whereas we are a peaceable people, and those who meet at Margaret Fell's are thy neighbors." Colonel Kirby replied that he had nothing against him, and others of the company expressed themselves in a friendly manner.

Soon after this interview, there was a private meeting of the justices, at which a warrant was issued for the apprehension of George Fox. After an examination before the magistrates, he was required to appear at the Lancaster sessions, which he did accordingly. The court not finding anything proved against him, tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which he refusing for conscience' sake, they committed him to prison.¹

About a month afterwards, Margaret Fell, who had been a widow five years, was summoned before the same justices, and the oath of allegiance tendered to her, which she refused, and was committed to Lancaster castle. At the next assizes she was arraigned before Judge Twisden, and after a long examination remanded to prison. During the spring and summer she lay in a damp unwholesome apartment, and in the autumn was again brought before the court. Being indicted for refusing the oath, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty, and the court proceeded to pass sentence of premunire, declaring that "She should be out of the king's protection, and forfeit all her

¹ For an account of his trial and that of M. Fell, see Janney's *Life of G. Fox*.

estate, real and personal, to the king, and be imprisoned during life." She was mercifully supported under this severe trial, and said to the judge, "Although I am out of the king's protection, yet I am not out of the protection of the Almighty God."

She was remanded to prison, where she remained twenty months before she could obtain from the sheriff permission to visit her own house for a short time, and then she returned to prison, where she continued about four years, till released by order of the king and council.¹

At the same assizes, George Fox was again called before the court, and his indictment read. He strenuously insisted that there were many material errors in it, which he proved so clearly that the court was obliged to quash it, and he then demanded his liberty. This reasonable demand was refused by the court, and the oath of allegiance again tendered to him, which being declined, he was remanded to prison.

At the next assizes, held in the spring of 1665, he was again arraigned before the court, and for refusing the oath, sentence of premunire was passed upon him. He was removed to Scarborough castle, and there confined in a room next the sea-side, without a chimney, and so open that the wind and rain came in. In this dismal prison he was debarred from the privilege of seeing his friends who came to visit him; while others who came to question and dispute were permitted to have access. At length, his patience having surmounted their cruelty, the keepers became more favorable and respectful to him, so that he was allowed the usual accommodations of a prisoner, and

¹ Besse, I. 314.

when the officers and soldiers had occasion to speak of him, they would say, "He was as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell, for we could never bow him."¹

At length a statement of his sufferings being drawn up by two of his friends, John Whitehead and Ellis Hooks, it was presented by Esquire Marsh to the master of requests, and an order was granted by the king for his release. He was confined at Scarborough castle seventeen months, and the whole time of his imprisonment was upwards of three years and a half.

While immured in Lancaster castle, his feelings were touched with sympathy for his imprisoned brethren and sisters in other parts of the kingdom, especially for those at Reading, in Berkshire, to whom he addressed a letter of encouragement and exhortation. "Trust in the Lord," he says, "who hath held and kept up your heads over all the storms and proud waves and floods, and who hath been your Rock of Life. Therefore, sit under the shadow of the Almighty, that doth shade you from all heats and storms: rejoicing in all your sufferings, that you may come forth as gold seven times tried in the fire; and do not look at time, nor think your sufferings long, but look at Him that hath all time in his hand."²

Among the prisoners at Reading were Thomas Curtis and his wife. He had been a justice of the peace, and had lived in affluence; but on joining Friends, he suffered the spoliation of his goods for allowing meetings in his house, and refusing the oath of allegiance.

Some of the Friends confined in Lancaster castle were detained a long time; Joseph Coale and Doro-

¹ Besse, I. 316.

² J. B's Letters of Early Friends, XCVI.

thy Clark died there, after an imprisonment of about six years.¹

Francis Howgill was, in the summer of 1664, arraigned at the Court of Assize at Appleby, in Westmoreland, on an indictment for refusing to swear. Being permitted to make his defence, he stated that, about a year previously, while in the market-place at Kendal, on his ordinary business, he was summoned by the high constable to appear before the justices, who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and committed him to prison.

At the Assize, Judge Twisden declared his mitimus to be insufficient; but again tendered him the oath, and engaged him to appear at the next Assize. He appeared accordingly, and then being required to give bond for good behavior—which was understood to imply that he would not attend meetings—he refused, and was again committed to Appleby prison, where he had now been five months. As to the oath required of him, which he could not take for conscience' sake, he had already presented to the court a declaration, containing the substance of the oath, which being signed with his own hand, he desired might be accepted by the court, and that he might be released from imprisonment.

Judge Turner, who was then on the bench, insisted on the oath being taken, and after some further arguments, the case being submitted to the jury, a verdict of guilty was rendered.

The judge, addressing the prisoner, said: "What have you to say why sentence shall not be given?"

F. Howgill.—I have many things to say, if you will

¹ Besse, I. 22.

hear them. 1st. As I have said, I deny not swearing out of obstinacy or wilfulness, but am willing to testify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I am concerned. 2dly. Because swearing is directly against the command of Christ. 3dly. It is against the doctrine of the apostles. 4thly. And of some of the principal members of the Church of England; as bishop Usher, Primate of Ireland, who said in his works, that the Waldenses denied all swearing in their age, from the command of Christ, and the Apostle James; and that it was a sufficient ground. And Doctor Gauden, late bishop of Exeter, in a book I have lately read, cites many ancient Fathers, proving that the Christians, for the first three hundred years, did not swear; so that it is no new doctrine.

Judge.—Surely you mistake.

F. Howgill.—I have not their books here.

Judge.—Will you say upon your honest word, that they denied all swearing?

F. Howgill.—What I have said is true.

Judge.—Why do you not come to church, and hear service, and be subject to the law, and every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake?

F. Howgill.—I am subject; and for that cause do we pay taxes, tribute, and custom, and give unto Cæsar the things that are his, and to God the things that are his, to wit, worship, honor, and obedience; but if thou meanest the parish assemblies, I tell thee faithfully, I am persuaded, and that upon good grounds, that their teachers are not the ministers of Christ, nor their worship the worship of God.

Judge.—Why it may be, for some small things in the service, you reject all.

F. Howgill.—First of all, it is manifest they are time-servers; one while preaching up that for divine service to the people, which another while they are crying down as popish, superstitious, and idolatrous. That which they preached up twenty years together, they make shipwreck of in a day; and now again, that which they once made void, they call divine, and would compel others to receive.

Judge.—Why, never since the king came in.

F. Howgill.—Yes, the same men that preached it down once, now cry it up, and are so unstable and wavering, that we cannot believe they are the ministers of Christ. 2dly. They teach for hire, and live by forced maintenance, and would force a faith upon men contrary to Christ's and the apostles' rule, who would have "every one persuaded in their own minds," for "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." The priests acknowledge, that "Faith is the gift of God;" yet they would force *their* faith upon us, and because we cannot receive it, they cry, "You are not subject to authority and the laws;" and they threaten us with confiscations, imprisonment, and banishment.

Judge.—Well, I see you will not swear, nor conform, nor be subject, and you think we deal severely with you.

F. Howgill.—Yes, I do so think, indeed, that you deal severely with us for obedience to the command of Christ. I pray thee, canst thou show me that any of those people *for whom the act was made*, have been proceeded against by this statute? though I envy no man's liberty.

Judge.—Oh! yes, I can instance you many, up and

down the country, that are premunired. I have pronounced sentence myself against divers.

F. Howgill.—What, against Papists?

Judge.—No.

F. Howgill.—What, then, against the Quakers? So I have heard, indeed. It seems, then, that that statute which was made against the Papists, thou enforcest not against them, but executest it against the Quakers.

Judge.—Well, you will meet in great numbers, and do increase, but there is a new statute, which will make you fewer.

F. Howgill.—Well, if we must suffer, it is for Christ's sake, and for well doing.

The judge pronounced sentence with a faint and low voice, thus: "You are out of the king's protection, and the benefit of the law. Your lands are confiscated to the king during your life, and your goods and chattels forever, and you are to be prisoner during your life."

F. Howgill.—Hard sentence for obeying the command of Christ; but I am content, and in perfect peace with the Lord. And the Lord forgive you all.

Judge.—Well, if you will yet be subject to the laws, the king will show you mercy.

F. Howgill.—The Lord has shown mercy to me; I have done nothing against the king, nor government, nor any man; blessed be the Lord, and therein stands my peace. It is for Christ's sake I suffer, and not for evil doing.

So he returned to prison, where he continued to the end of his days.

The new statute above referred to by Judge Turner, which he thought would lessen the number of Quakers

in England, was entitled: "An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles."¹

This act, which was to take effect the 1st of July, 1664, and to continue in force three years, was similar in most of its provisions to that passed in 1661,² with the additional severity that fines and imprisonment might be inflicted by the mayor of a city, or two justices of the peace, and that transportation and distraint of goods should be adjudged by the quarter sessions. It provided, moreover, that any person sentenced to transportation under this act, who should escape or return without leave from government, should be adjudged a felon, and suffer death.

This act was a direct violation of the English constitution, inasmuch as it subjected the accused to fines and imprisonment without the privilege of trial by jury. It was intended to operate upon all who refused to take judicial oaths, or who worshipped in any other manner than was allowed by the liturgy of the church of England; its penalties, however, fell chiefly upon Friends, because they would not flinch from their testimony, but held their religious meetings openly at stated times, while most other Dissenters met in secret, or changed the times and places of their religious assemblies in order to avoid detection.

The constancy of Friends in this season of severe suffering, is acknowledged in the writings of Baxter, one of their opponents in religious controversy. "The Quakers," he says, "did greatly relieve the sober people for a time; for they were so resolute, and so gloried in their constancy and sufferings, that they assembled openly at the Bull and Mouth near Alders-

¹ Besse, I. Pref., XIII., and Sewel, II. 89.

² See Chap. III.

gate, and were dragged away daily to the common jail, and yet desisted not, but the rest came next day. Abundance of them died in prison, and yet they continued their assemblies still."

Soon after this inhuman law came into force, a storm of persecution burst upon the meetings of Friends, and threatened for a while to destroy them. In the course of seven weeks the commitments to Newgate of Friends taken at their religious meetings in London, amounted to eight hundred and sixty-seven, and during the succeeding five weeks the commitments were three hundred and seventy.¹ Many of them were confined only a few days for the first or second offence; but the shortness of the term was not intended as a favor to the prisoners, the object was to bring them the sooner under the penalty of transportation for the third offence; the magistrates being well assured that they would find them again at their religious assemblies as soon as at liberty.

The noisome chambers of Newgate were crowded to such excess, that at times the prisoners "had not room to sit down, nor scarce to stand, being close shut up, without respect to age or sex, among felons and murderers."² The den of thieves was now become a house of prayer, for the imprisoned Friends were frequently engaged in waiting upon and worshipping their Lord and Saviour, who was found to be in their midst to comfort and sustain them.

Josiah Coale, one of the prisoners in Newgate, in a letter to George Fox, wrote as follows: "Truly, dear George, the Lord is not slack concerning the promises of his blessings unto his own seed, now in its suffer-

¹ Besse, I. 393 to 399.

² Ibid. 395.

ing condition, neither is he wanting unto us in this our time of trial; but indeed I may say in truth, that He causeth his love and kindness to abound in us, and our cups to overflow. What may I say of his endless love,—it is indeed beyond declaring; for I know not what more can be desired than the Lord hath done for us or given unto us, as concerning the present enjoyment of his rich love and blessings, for which blessings glory and praise be unto his name forever and ever! Amen.” “Dear George, pray for us, that we may be kept faithful in the power and authority of God, and that his presence and love may be always continued with us.”¹

In the year 1664, twenty-five Friends, of whom five were women, died in Newgate, or from disease contracted there; and one hundred and thirty were sentenced to transportation.²

About the close of this year, three of the prisoners, viz.: Edward Brush, Robert Hayes, and James Harding, were, very early in the morning, hurried out of Newgate by some of the turnkeys, and being taken to Gravesend, were forced on shipboard. Robert Hayes being in feeble health, died soon after he was put on board; the other two were carried to Jamaica, where, under the divine blessing, they were prosperous. Edward Brush, though a grey-haired old man when he left England, lived to come back again to his wife and children; and James Harding returned to England with a wife he had married in Jamaica, and three daughters.³

¹ J. Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, XLVIII.

² Besse, I. 399 to 405.

³ Besse, I. 405. Papers of Wm. Crouch, London, 1712, 82.

At the Hartfordshire assizes, in the summer of this year, four Friends were sentenced to be transported to Barbadoes, and four others to Jamaica, for the term of seven years; their offence being the attendance of their religious meetings. Pursuant to this sentence, the jailer, by the sheriff's order, applied to Thomas May, master of the ship *Anne*, of London, to convey to those islands seven persons, assuring him they were free men, and that six of them would carry goods. The captain, being thus deceived, agreed to take them; but when they were brought to him, finding they were prisoners, not willing to go, he refused to receive them. Next day they were again brought to the ship when the master was absent; but the mate refused to take them on board. The jailer then went to the Secretary of State, and made a false oath concerning the contract with May, who was refused a hearing in his own defence, and an order was issued to compel him to transport the prisoners. Some days afterwards, they were put on board the ship during the absence of the master, who, when he came, put them ashore, and gave them a certificate, stating that they had permission to remain there until he called for them.

On the 1st of October, the captain sent for them to come on board, which they did, and the ship proceeded down the river, but a sudden change of wind drove her back, and the prisoners were again set on shore. On the 6th the ship weighed anchor, with wind and tide fair, so that many other vessels passed by her down the river; but the utmost exertions of the mariners failed to give her much headway, and they were obliged to anchor. The seamen were heard to say, "We shall never go out of England while

these men are on board," so they set them ashore the third time. On the 8th they sailed again, and reached Greenwich, when a sudden storm obliged them to cast anchor to secure the ship, and the prisoners were set on shore the fourth time. On the 10th they were ordered on board a fifth time, and the ship sailed once more, but was near running aground, and seemed to be steered with difficulty, until the prisoners were set ashore, when the vessel proceeded to Gravesend. Thither the prisoners followed, and, by the captain's order, some of them remained there, while others returned to London. On the 28th they were ordered on board a sixth time, and the ship sailed that night to Lee Road, where they cast anchor; but before morning the wind turned strong against them, and they lay there two days and three nights. On the 31st they sailed to the North-Foreland, and cast anchor until the next day. At night the captain set the prisoners ashore, and directed them to proceed to Deal, where he met them, and before several witnesses declared, that "though they had followed the ship so long, yet he was resolved not to carry them." He then gave them the following certificate, viz :

"Whereas there were seven men, called Quakers, brought on board my ship, called the Anne, of London, by William Edmonds, jailer of Hartford, to wit: Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Francis Pryor, John Blendell, Jeremiah Herne, and Samuel Trahern, all which have continued waiting upon my ship from London to Deal, from the 14th day of September last till this day: And I seeing Providence hath much crossed me hitherto, whereby I perceive that the hand of the Lord is against me, that I dare

not proceed on my voyage to carry them, they being innocent persons, and no crime signified against them worthy of banishment, and that there is a law in force that no Englishman shall be carried out of his native country against his will, and also my men refuse to go the voyage if I carry them, which will be much to my hindrance, men being very scarce by reason of the long press. For these reasons, therefore, and many more, I will not carry them. These are therefore to certify any person or persons that shall question them, that they did not make an escape, but I put them on shore again to go whither they pleased. All this is certified under my own hand this 10th day of November, 1664.

THOMAS MAY."

Witness hereunto,
JOHN BANCCKES, HUMPHREY BIGLESTONE,
JOHN CLEMENTS, THOMAS HOLLYMAN."

The Friends being thus set at liberty, returned to London, and thence to their own homes, having first sent to the King and Council a letter stating the manner of their release, with a copy of the captain's certificate. The king and council having met, passed an order that the high sheriff of Hartfordshire should apprehend and secure them until they could be transported, alleging that their liberation had been "a matter of contrivance and design between the master and the prisoners." In pursuance of this order they were again committed to prison, where they remained until released by the king, more than seven years afterwards.

On their return to prison, they found there twenty-one other Friends under sentence of banishment,

most of whom remained prisoners until released by the king's patent in 1672.¹

In Bristol the conventicle act was enforced by the mayor with relentless severity, two hundred and nineteen Friends being imprisoned for the first offence, one hundred and five for the second, and twenty-three for the third. The prisons were foul and unwholesome, and being excessively crowded, three of the prisoners died from the effects of the pestilential atmosphere. Among those indicted for the third offence, three were sentenced to transportation, and put on board the ship *Mary Fortune*, of Bristol, John Lloyd, master, bound for Barbadoes. The seamen, however, refused to carry them, and the captain put them on shore, having furnished them with a certificate to show that they had not made their escape. In this paper, after stating the circumstances under which they were put on board his ship, he says, "But now going to depart, their cry and the cry of their families and friends are entered into the ears of the Lord, and he hath smitten us even to the very heart, saying cursed is he that parteth man and wife. And moreover they that oppress his people, his plagues shall follow them wheresoever they go, and assuredly we do in part partake of them already, for our consciences will in no wise let us rest, nor be quiet, for the Lord hath smitten us with a terrible fear, so that we can in no wise proceed to carry them."²

In London the prosecutions under the conventicle act still continued. Near the close of the year 1664, fifty-five Friends, of whom eighteen were women, were sentenced to be transported to Jamaica, and

¹ Besse, I. 244-49.

² Besse, I. 51. Papers of William Crouch, 78.

were kept in Newgate prison before and after sentence thirteen months. Many masters of vessels being treated with, refused to receive them, saying they would rather lay up their ships. At length they were put on board the ship *Black Eagle*, lying in the Thames; but she remained in the river seven weeks before she reached the Downs. During this time twenty-seven of the Friends died, and one more was missing, of whom no account could be given.

The ship went to sea, but while near the British coast was taken by a Dutch privateer. Some of the Friends were left on board the prize-ship, and others were taken on board the privateer; the two vessels were afterwards separated during a storm, and the English ship was driven to the coast of Norway. At length both ships reached Holland, where all the Friends again met, and thence returned to England, except a German named John Claus, who had been convinced of Friends' principles, and became a resident of Amsterdam.¹

In the early part of the year 1665, the plague made its appearance in London, and it was considered remarkable that its first victim should be in a house next door to that which had lately been occupied by Edward Brush, one of the banished Friends. It was regarded by many Friends as "a punishment inflicted by the hand of God on a persecuting nation;"² and the historian of their "Sufferings," informs us that it had been plainly foretold in some of their published writings, particularly by the following warning from George Bishop, addressed :

¹ Papers of W. Crouch, 87 to 92.

² Besse, I. 405.

"To the king and both Houses of Parliament.

"Thus saith the Lord,

Meddle not with my people, because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience; for if you do, I will send my plagues upon you, and you shall know that I am the Lord. Written in obedience to the Lord, by his servant,
GEORGE BISHOP."¹

Bristol, the 25th of the
Ninth month, 1664.

This warning, we are informed by Besse, was published several months before the pestilence broke out in the city.² In a paper entitled, "England's sad state and condition lamented," written by George Fox the younger, and printed the 13th of the Second month, 1661, being four years before the plague, the following passage occurs:

"O England, England! I have often treasured up what the Lord hath said in me concerning thy inhabitants; but now must I declare it in the appointed season; thus hath the Lord spoken in me for a long time, concerning thy inhabitants, saying, 'The people are too many, the people are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them.'"³

Whatever may be the judgment of the present generation concerning these predictions, there is no doubt they were considered by the early Friends as intimations from the spirit of Truth, and there is abundant historical evidence to show that a foreshadowing of future events has at times, for special purposes, been revealed to the servants of God.

¹ The warnings of the Lord, etc., by G. Bishop, London, 1667.

² *Sufferings of Friends*, I. 405.

³ *Works of G. Fox, Jr.*, 206.

The ravages of the plague at that time were far greater than at any other period in the history of England. In a letter to Dr. Sancroft from J. Tiltolson, dated September 14th, 1665, it is thus described: "The desolation of the city is very great. The heart is either steel or stone that will not lament this sad visitation, and will not bleed for these unutterable woes! What eye would not weep to see so many habitations uninhabited—the poor sick not visited—the hungry not fed—the grave not satisfied! Death stares us continually in the face, in every infected person that passeth by us, in every coffin which is daily and hourly carried along the streets. The custom was, in the beginning, to bury the dead in the night only; but now both night and day will hardly be time enough for it."¹

Trade was at an end; grass was growing in the thoroughfares of commerce, and no sound was heard save the cries of distress from bereaved families, and the voices of "the searchers," appointed to bury the corpses, who, passing in their carts, called aloud to the inhabitants, "Bring out your dead."²

During the last summer month sixteen hundred died daily. The people were at first struck with consternation, and fearing contagion shunned each other, but at length despair rendered them courageous. They then crowded to the places of public worship regardless of danger; for they looked upon themselves as already numbered for the grave. The richer inhabitants fled to the remote counties, while the poor who remained were exposed to the most deplorable sufferings. All commerce with the sur-

¹ Letters of Early Friends, LIV.

² Neal's Hist. of Pur., II. 254.

rounding country was cut off through fear of the pestilence, and the country people durst not entertain their friends or relatives from the city till they had performed quarantine in the fields. According to the yearly bill of mortality, 68,596 persons died of the plague in the city of London; but it was believed that the number reached one hundred thousand.¹

In such seasons of general bereavement no class can expect to be exempt from the law of mortality. "There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked," but they whose hearts are devoted to the service of God, can look on death without dismay, and even welcome him as the messenger that calls them from the trials of time to the rewards of eternity.

The sufferings of Friends were very great, inasmuch as their unrelenting persecutors continued for some time to thrust them into crowded jails, where the plague was known to prevail.² At length, when the pestilence had attained its greatest height, many of those who were engaged in the work of persecution being removed by death or paralyzed by terror, Friends were allowed generally to hold their religious meetings without disturbance.

Geo. Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, Alexander Parker, and Josiah Coale, remained in the city, from a sense of duty, to relieve the poor and administer comfort to the sick and dying. They visited Friends in their families, assisted in keeping up their religious meetings, and attended regularly at the jails, where the brethren and sisters were suffering in an atmosphere always

¹ Life of Gilbert Latey, London, 1707, 62, and G. Whitehead, 293, 300.

² Letters of Early Friends, LIV.

foul, but at that time rendered still more deadly by the prevailing pestilence. It was remarked, that these devoted ministers, as well as many other Friends, who remained in the city for the same benevolent purpose, were preserved from the effects of contagion.¹ Being firm in faith and endued with that divine love which casts out fear, they experienced the fulfilment of the gracious promise, "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday. A thousand shall fall by thy side and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee."

The number of deaths of Friends in London during the year 1665 was registered 1177, of which 532 were *reported to be* of the plague. The average of deaths for the three following years being only 133 per annum, it may be concluded that a larger proportion died of the plague than the number reported. The whole number of Friends then residing in London was probably about six thousand.²

Among the many Friends who this year died in prison, there were three of whom some account has been preserved:

1. Samuel Fisher, whose convincement and religious labors have already been mentioned.³ In 1661,

¹ Life of G. Latey, Whitehead's Christian Progress, and Gough, II. 149.

² In 1811, the number of members in the six Monthly Meetings of London is reported to have been 2270, and the deaths for ten years preceding, 501; being an average of about 50 per annum. According to this ratio, 133 deaths per annum would indicate about 6000 members. See Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, LV.

³ Vol. I. 215-18.

he was several months a prisoner in the Gate-house at Westminster. Soon after his release, he was apprehended while passing the streets; and, being taken to Guildhall, the oaths were tendered to him, which he declined to take, and was committed to Newgate, where he was detained twelve months. In a short time after his discharge, he was again taken at Charlwood, and imprisoned in Southwark; where, after remaining two years, he finished his course, in perfect peace with the Lord, and greatly beloved by his fellow-believers. He was endowed with natural abilities, which were highly improved by education; and he was exemplary for his Christian humility—in meekness instructing those who opposed him, and incessantly laboring by word and writing, to promote the doctrine of truth. He died the last day of the Sixth month, 1665.¹

2. Joseph Fuce, a minister of the gospel, who had travelled and suffered much on account of his religious testimony. After an imprisonment of two years, he was permitted to exchange the sorrows of time for the joys of eternity.

3. John Fothergill, a faithful minister and laborer in the Lord's service. He was taken out of a meeting at Guilford, and brought before a justice of the peace, who wrote a *mittimus* for his imprisonment in Southwark. The distance to the prison being twenty-five miles, and John Fothergill, being "unwilling to put the constable to so much trouble" as to guard him thither, went by himself, taking his own *mittimus*, which the officer placed in his hands. After he had been some months in prison, he was taken sick

¹ Besse, I. 693.

of a fever, and laid down his life as a martyr for the testimony of truth.¹

In addition to these three ministers who died in bonds, the society of Friends had this year to mourn the loss of William Caton, whose death took place at Amsterdam. His mind was not only enlightened by divine grace, but improved by education; and, being remarkable for his courteous and affable manners, he was generally esteemed by all who knew him. He was called to the ministry early in life, and labored successfully in the cause of truth.

This year the parliament assembled at Oxford, being deterred from meeting in London by the plague which desolated the city. It might have been supposed that the calamities under which the nation was then suffering from the war with the Dutch, and the pestilence in the metropolis, would have softened the hearts of her prelates and legislators; but the spirit of intolerance still prevailed, and another persecuting statute was enacted. This was entitled: "An Act to restrain Non-conformists from inhabiting corporations." According to its preamble, it was intended to apply to "parsons and others in holy orders who had not subscribed to the act of uniformity." From such persons it required an oath that they would not take up arms against the king, nor attempt any alteration of government in church or state; and in default of such an oath being taken, they were prohibited from residing within five miles of any corporate town, and from teaching any public or private school. This act was aimed against the Presbyterians and Independents, who, in Cromwell's time, had enjoyed the emoluments of the church; but it was also fre-

¹ Besse, I. 693.

quently enforced against the Friends, they being restrained by religious scruples from taking the oath required.

The year 1666 was rendered memorable to the inhabitants of London, by the great fire which destroyed a large part of the city. It is thus noticed in Neal's History of the Puritans: "The vices of the nation not being sufficiently punished by pestilence and war, it pleased Almighty God to suffer the city of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful conflagration which broke out in Pudding lane behind the monument, September 2, 1666, and within three or four days consumed thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, among which was the Cathedral of St. Paul's; many public structures, schools, libraries, and stately edifices."

It is described by an eye-witness as a scene of terrific grandeur, which struck the inhabitants with such dismay, that they made scarcely any efforts to quench the flames. They fled from street to street as the fire advanced, taking with them such of their goods as they could carry, but leaving behind the greater part to be destroyed with their dwellings. For several miles around the burning city, the impoverished citizens were encamped under tents or in miserable huts, many being without beds, and almost destitute of clothing.¹

This calamity had been foretold in the vision of Humphrey Smith, published six years before;² and

¹ Evelyn's Diary of Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, LVII., and G. Whitehead's Christian Progress, 314.

² See chapter IV. of this volume. It is worthy of note that Thomas Forster, of London, a faithful Friend who died in the year 1660, foresaw that a great part of the city would be destroyed, and

not less remarkable was the prophecy of a Friend from Huntingdonshire, named Thomas Ibbit. He came to the city two days before the fire, and alighting from his horse with his clothes thrown loosely around him, like a person dressed in haste, ran through the streets towards Whitehall, proclaiming that the city would be laid waste by fire. On the second day after his arrival he was engaged in the same way, and some of the Friends, being apprehensive that he was deranged, or under a delusion, had a private interview with him. He told them that he had had a vision of the fire some time before, but delayed to come and declare it, until, as he expressed it, "the fire was felt in his own bosom."¹ George Whitehead being, on the same day, informed of this interview, said he durst not question the vision or message, for he knew Thomas Ibbit, who had been convinced at one of his meetings, and he considered him a man of "a zealous and somewhat of a hot spirit; so that his spirit is nearer to those destroying angels or fiery spirits, than those Friends are, who have attained to a further growth in the spirit of the Lamb, Christ Jesus; and that he might sooner have a discovery of such an evil, or judgment, or mischief, permitted to come upon the city, than they whose spirits are more meek and gentle, and more settled in quietness and peace."²

Whatever may be the judgment of others concern-

at his request his wife and family removed to the suburbs, by which means they escaped the loss of their goods by fire.—*See Piety Promoted*, 1660.

¹ Sewel, II. 141. G. Fox's Journal, II. 63.

² G. Whitehead's Christian Progress, 315.

ing this sentiment of George Whitehead, it is deemed characteristic, and therefore worthy of insertion here, as the opinion of one who was eminent for religious experience.

The prophecy referred to, is one of the best attested on record, and was the more remarkable for being so speedily fulfilled. Its accomplishment, however, seems to have had an unfavorable effect upon the poor messenger, for Thos. Ibbit, being apparently affected with some degree of spiritual pride, conceived that he could arrest the fire he had predicted, and therefore ran with outstretched arms towards the flames, by which it is supposed he would have been consumed, had not some of his friends interposed for his rescue. He afterwards came to see and acknowledge his presumption. His error affords an instructive lesson, showing that they who are entrusted with extraordinary gifts have no less need than others to walk in humility, watching unto prayer.

By this conflagration, the Friends' meeting-house called the Bull and Mouth, was consumed, together with the papers and letters relating to the early history of the society, deposited there.¹ They afterwards took "part of a great house without Bishopsgate, called Devonshire house," where meetings were held, and "the elder men Friends had sometimes a meeting in an upper room to consider of the affairs of the church."²

At their other meeting-houses, which had not been consumed, Friends continued to assemble for divine worship, and their numbers increasing, they built,

¹ Alex. Parker to G. Fox, Letters of Early Friends, CL.

² Papers of Wm. Crouch, London, 1712, 94. Gough, II. 57.

this year, a new meeting-house in Whitehart court, Grace Church street, which from its central situation, became afterwards the place for their yearly meetings.

About this time John Roberts, of Cirencester, who had formerly been a soldier in Cromwell's army, became a proselyte to the doctrines of Friends, and joined in profession with them. He was very remarkable for his genial humor and ready wit, which rendered his company attractive, and enabled him to administer many an effective, but kindly rebuke to his clerical persecutors. It was remarked of him, by an eminent reviewer, that "every gambling priest and swearing magistrate in the neighborhood stood in fear of his sharp wit."¹

In the year 1665, two women Friends from the north of England came to Cirencester inquiring for such as feared God. Being directed to the house of John Roberts, they came, and desired to hold a meeting. He granted their request, and invited several of his neighbors to sit with them. After sitting some time in silence, the Friends spoke a few words, which had a good effect. When the meeting was ended, John Roberts endeavored to engage them in discourse, but they said little; only recommending him to hear Richard Farnsworth, then a prisoner for conscience' sake, in Banbury jail. He accordingly went to visit that faithful minister of Christ, whom he found in a dungeon preaching through a grate to the people in the street. After a little time he paused, and turning to John Roberts, he spoke to this purpose: "That Zaccheus being a man of low stature, and having a mind to see Christ, ran before and

¹ Life of John Roberts, by his son Daniel Roberts.

climbed up into a sycamore tree; and our Saviour, knowing his good desire, called to him: 'Zaccheus, come down! this day is salvation come to thy house.' Thus Zaccheus was like some in our day, who are climbing up into the tree of *knowledge*, thinking to find Christ there. But the word now is: 'Zaccheus, come down! come down! for that which is to be known of God is manifested within.'" This, with much more to the purpose, was declared in such authority, that John Roberts acknowledged his condition had been spoken to, as though Richard Farnsworth had known him from his youth.

John Roberts, being cited to appear at the court of Bishop Nicholson, went thither, and was interrogated as follows:

Bishop.—What is your name?

J. R.—My name is John Roberts.

Bishop.—Well, you were born Roberts, but you were not born John. Who gave you that name?

J. R.—Thou hast asked me a very hard question, my name being given me before I was capable of remembering who gave it me. But I believe it was my parents, they being the only persons that had a right to give me my name.

Bishop.—How many of your children have been bishoped?

J. R.—None that I know of.

Bishop.—What reason can you give for that?

J. R.—A very good one, I think; most of my children were born in Oliver's days, when bishops were out of fashion.

Bishop.—How many of them have been baptized?

J. R.—What dost thou mean by that?

Bishop.—What! don't you own baptism?

J. R.—Yes, but perhaps we may differ in that point.

Bishop.—What baptism do you own? That of the spirit, I suppose?

J. R.—Yes, what other baptism should I own?

Bishop.—Do you own but one baptism?

J. R.—If one be enough, what needs any more? The apostle said: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism."

Bishop.—What do you say of the baptism of water?

J. R.—I say, there was a man sent from God, whose name was John, who had a real commission for it, and he was the only man that I read of who was empowered for that work.

Bishop.—But suppose I make it appear that some of Christ's disciples themselves baptized with water, after Christ's ascension?

J. R.—I suppose that's no very difficult task; but what's that to me?

Bishop.—Is it nothing to you, what Christ's disciples themselves did?

J. R.—Not in every thing; for Paul, that eminent apostle, who I suppose thou wilt grant had as extensive a commission as any of the rest of the apostles, honestly confesses he had no commission to baptize with *water*; and further says, "I thank God I baptized none but such and such; for," says he, "I was not sent to baptize (i. e. with water), but to preach the gospel." And if he was not sent, I would soberly ask, who required it at his hands? Perhaps he might have as little thanks for his labors as thou mayst have for thine; and I would willingly know who sent thee to baptize.

Bishop.—This is not our present business. You see you are here returned for not coming to church. What say you to that?

J. R.—It is always my principle and practice to go to church.

Bishop.—And do you go to church?

J. R.—Yes, and sometimes the church comes to me.

Bishop.—The church comes to you? I don't understand you, friend.

J. R.—It may be so; 'tis often for want of a good understanding that the innocent are made to suffer.

Apparitor.—My Lord, he keeps meetings at his house, and he calls that a church.

J. R.—No; I no more believe my house to be a church, than I believe what you call so to be one. I call the people of God the church of God, wheresoever they are met to worship him in spirit and in truth. And when I say the church comes to me, I mean the assembly of such worshippers, who frequently meet at my house. I do not call that a church which you do, which is made of wood and stone; that is but the workmanship of men's hands; whereas, the true church consists of living stones, and is built up by Christ a spiritual house of God.

Bishop.—We call it a church figuratively, meaning the place where the church meets.

J. R.—I fear you call it a church hypocritically and deceitfully, with a design to awe people into a veneration for the place, which is not due to it, as though your consecrations had made that house holier than others.¹

¹ Life of John Roberts.

After some further discourse he was dismissed, and subsequently had several interviews with the bishop, who seemed to admire his blunt honesty, sagacity, and humor.

In this year Richard Farnsworth, one of the earliest proselytes of George Fox, finished his course in the city of London. He had been a zealous and faithful minister, instrumental in bringing many to the knowledge of heavenly truth. A little before his departure, he said, with much earnestness, "Friends, God hath been mightily with me, and hath stood by me at this time, and his power and presence have encompassed me all along. God hath appeared for the owning of my testimony, and hath broken in upon me as a flood, and I am filled with his love more than I am able to express, and God has really appeared for us. If he had come down and spoken as a man, he could not have spoken more clearly to us than he hath done by the many testimonies from heaven to his people. Therefore I beseech you, Friends, here in this city of London, whether I live or die, be ye faithful to your testimony God hath committed to you."¹

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 58.

CHAPTER X.

ENGLAND.

1666-71.

In the year 1666, George Fox was led by a sense of religious duty to recommend the establishment of monthly meetings throughout the society which he had been the chief instrument in gathering. Their object was to promote the cause of truth and righteousness, by taking care of the poor, educating the orphans, seeing that marriages were properly solemnized, and admonishing such as walked disorderly in order to reclaim them.¹

In the city of London five of these meetings for discipline were established, and George Fox travelled throughout the nation, instituting such meetings wherever the society was sufficient to maintain them.

In many places Quarterly meetings had already been established, and there were general meetings, sometimes called circular yearly meetings, held in rotation at several places by appointment, which appear to have been chiefly intended for divine worship. There was a yearly meeting for discipline first held at Balby, in Yorkshire, in the year 1658, which, after being held there three years, was removed to London.² It does not appear that the Quarterly meetings sent representatives to London yearly meeting until the year 1673.³

¹ Journal of G. Fox, II. 68.

² Letter of G. Fox.

³ London Book of Advices.

“There appears to have been held in London, in 1668, a General meeting of Friends from all parts of the nation, from which an Epistle was issued to the society, and the several Quarterly meetings were requested to make a collection for the service of Truth beyond the seas, and for the distribution of books. There is some reason to believe that this was a General meeting of ministers. In the year 1672, a General meeting of ministers was held at Devonshire House, London. Amongst its proceedings we find the following minute, in which we trace the origin of the yearly meeting constituted as it now is, of representatives from various parts of the kingdom. ‘It is concluded, agreed, and assented unto by Friends then present, that for the better ordering, managing, and regulating of the public affairs of Friends, relating to the Truth and the service thereof, that there be a General meeting of Friends held at London once a year, in the week called Whitsun-week, to consist of six Friends for the city of London, three for the city of Bristol, two for the town of Colchester, and one or two from each of the counties of England and Wales respectively.’

“This representative yearly meeting met at the time proposed, in 1673, and came to the conclusion that the General meeting, constituted as it then was, ‘be discontinued till Friends in God’s wisdom shall see a further occasion;’ and it was further agreed that the General meeting of Friends who labor in the work of the ministry do continue as formerly appointed.” This meeting of ministers appears to have been held annually from this time to the year 1677, inclusive.¹

In the year 1666, a document was issued entitled,

¹ London Book of Advices, Friends’ Lib., I. 116.

"A testimony from the brethren who were met together at London in the Third month, 1666, to be communicated to faithful Friends and elders in the counties, by them to be read in their several meetings, and kept as a testimony amongst them." The meeting whence this paper emanated was doubtless that which was called by George Fox, for the recovery of those who had become disaffected toward the Society, or had withdrawn from it.¹ It refers, in the first place, to the state of the Church, "which, in this day of her return out of the wilderness, hath not only many open but some covered enemies to contend against, who are not afraid to speak evil of dignities and despise government; without which, we are sensible our safety and fellowship cannot be kept holy and inviolable."

The most important advices contained in this testimony are here subjoined, viz: — "That the ministry may not be justly blamed, we declare, that if any go abroad hereafter, pretending to that weighty work and service, who either in life or doctrine grieve good Friends that are steadfast in the Truth and sound in the faith, so that they are not manifest in their conscience, but disapproved by the witness of God in them; then ought they, whatever have been their gifts, to leave them before the altar and forbear going abroad, until they are reconciled to the church, and have the approbation of the elders and members of the same. And if any, that have been so approved of by the church, do afterwards degenerate from the Truth, and do that which tends to division, and countenance wickedness and faction, as some have done,

¹ See Chapter II. of this volume, where that meeting is described in the language of Thomas Ellwood.

then the church hath a true spiritual right and authority to call them to examination; and if they find sufficient cause for it, by good testimony, they may judge them unfit for the work of the ministry, whereof they have rendered themselves unworthy; and so put a stop to their proceedings therein, and if they submit not to the judgment of the spirit of Christ in his people, then ought they publicly to be declared against, and warning given to the flock of Christ in their several meetings to beware of them, and to have no fellowship with them, that they may be ashamed, and the lambs and babes in Christ Jesus preserved.

“ We do advise and counsel, that such as are made overseers of the flock of God by the Holy Spirit, and do watch for the good of the church (meeting together in their respective places to set and keep the affairs of it in good order), to beware of admitting or encouraging such as are weak and of little faith to take such trust upon them; for by hearing things disputed that are doubtful, such may be hurt themselves and hurt the Truth; not being grown into a good understanding to judge of things. Therefore we exhort that you, who have received a true sense of things, be diligent in the Lord’s business, and keep your meetings as to Him; that all may be kept pure and clean according to that of God which is just and equal. We also advise that not any be admitted to order public business of the church, but such as are felt in a measure of the universal spirit of Truth, which seeks the destruction of none, but the general good of all, and especially of those that love it, who are of the household of faith.¹

¹ Signed by Richard Farnsworth, Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, Thomas Loe, Josiah Coale, John Whitehead, Stephen

These advices relate to questions of deep importance, which have at various times agitated the Society. They were doubtless called forth by the disorderly conduct of some who professed to be ministers of the gospel, but who showed by their fruits that they were actuated by the same spirit as Diotrefes, that "loved to have the pre-eminence." From the concluding paragraph we may infer that the meetings for discipline were composed of Friends selected from the body on account of their fidelity and experience, but we must bear in mind that there was not, at that time, a registry of members; all who attended their meetings and bore their testimonies being considered as identified with Friends.

In the year 1667, William Penn, the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, became a regular attendant of the meetings of Friends, avowing himself in unity with them. The life and character of this eminent man having been the subject of a previous work,¹ it is deemed unnecessary, in this history, to give more than a brief sketch of his remarkable career. He was born in the city of London, on the 14th day of October (then the Eighth month), A. D. 1644. In his minority, while a student at Oxford, his feelings were touched and his conscience awakened by the preaching of Thomas Loe; which caused him to withdraw, for a time, from the established worship, and to resort, with some other students, to private meetings, where they were engaged in exhortation and prayer.

Being sent to France by his father in order to dis-

Crisp, Thomas Green, John Moon, Thomas Briggs, James Parke.
— Letters of Early Friends, CXV.

¹ See Janney's Life of W. Penn.

sipate these serious impressions, and afterwards employed during a short time in military service in Ireland, he began to assimilate with the gay world around him. At this juncture, while at Cork on business, he heard that Thomas Loe was expected to be at a Friends' meeting in that city, and he was led by his affection for that eminent minister to be among the attendants of the meeting.

After an interval of silence, Thomas Loe commenced his discourse with these words: "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." On this theme he spoke so impressively, that William Penn was deeply moved, and yielding to a renewed visitation of divine grace, he was made willing to renounce the world, with all the glittering prizes that appeared to be within his reach. Like the "merchantman seeking goodly pearls, who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had and bought it."

From this time forward he became a constant attendant of the meetings of Friends, and in the autumn of 1667, he was, with others of the same persuasion, apprehended at a meeting in Cork, and taken before the mayor.

That officer, observing his dress to be different from that of the other Friends, offered to set him at liberty on his giving bond for his good behavior; but he conscientiously refused, and was, with the others, committed to prison.

While in prison, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, pleading for liberty of conscience to worship God according to his convictions of duty, and soliciting the release of

himself and his fellow-prisoners. This was his first essay on behalf of religious toleration, a cause which he continued to advocate most ably for more than twenty years, until he witnessed its triumph.

The Earl gave an immediate order for his release, and Admiral Sir William Penn, having heard that his son was become a Quaker, wrote for him to return home; an order which he promptly obeyed.

The religious deportment of William Penn, and especially his adherence to some of the unpopular testimonies of Friends, were extremely displeasing to his father, who, after many fruitless endeavors to overcome his scruples, expelled him from his house. His mother, who was an excellent woman, furnished him secretly with relief, until his father, softened perhaps by her entreaties, so far relented as to allow him to obtain subsistence at home, though he gave him no open countenance.

In the year 1668, being the 24th of his age, he was called to the gospel ministry, in which he became eminently serviceable. In the same year he appeared as an author, and published a small work bearing the following title: "Truth Exalted, in a short but sure Testimony against all those Religions, Faiths, and Worship, that have been formed and followed in the darkness of the Apostacy; and for that glorious Light, which is now risen and shines forth in the life and doctrine of the despised Quakers, as the alone good old way of life and salvation; presented to Princes, Priests, and People, that they may repent, believe, and obey; by William Penn, whom Divine Love constrains in an holy contempt, to trample on Egypt's glory, not fearing the king's

wrath, having beheld the majesty of Him who is invisible."

Soon afterwards he was engaged in a controversy which led to important consequences. Two persons belonging to the congregation of Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian minister of Spitalfields, London, having gone to a Friends' meeting, became proselytes to the doctrines they heard preached there. This coming to the knowledge of Vincent, he spoke of Friends in the most opprobrious terms, accusing them of holding damnable doctrines. William Penn and George Whitehead demanded of Vincent an opportunity to defend themselves and the society before the same congregation where the slanders had been uttered. After some demur, he appointed a day and hour for them to meet, but called his own congregation together an hour earlier, so as to preoccupy the house. When Penn and Whitehead arrived, they heard Vincent reiterating his charges against Friends, and they demanded that they should be heard in their own defence; but he proposed that *he* should question them, which was agreed to by the congregation, who were mostly of his own communion.

He then queried whether Friends "owned one Godhead subsisting in three distinct and separate persons?" Objections being made to this doctrine, he attempted to prove it by the following syllogism:

"There are three that bear record in heaven — the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost — and these three are one.

"These are either three manifestations, three operations, three substances, or three something else besides substantances.

"But they are not three manifestations, three ope-

rations, three substances, nor three any thing else besides subsistances.

“Ergo, three subsistances.”

George Whitehead utterly rejected his terms as not to be found in Scripture, nor deducible from the place he instanced; wherefore he desired an explanation of the terms, “inasmuch as God does not choose to wrap up his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but in plain language.” No satisfactory explanation being given, George Whitehead, “willing to bring this strange doctrine to the capacity of the people, compared their three persons to three apostles, saying, he did not understand how Paul, Peter, and John could be three persons, and one apostle;” which William Penn observes, is “a most apt comparison to detect their doctrine.”¹

The audience attempted to put down the Friends by opprobrious epithets and hisses; and Vincent fell suddenly to prayer, in which he accused his antagonists with blasphemy. Without giving them an opportunity to defend themselves, he dismissed the audience, promising the Friends another hearing.

This promise not being fulfilled, William Penn resorted to the press for a vindication, and published a tract with the following title: “The Sandy Foundations Shaken, or those so generally believed and applauded doctrines of one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons, the impossibility of God’s pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction, the justification of impure persons by an imputative righteousness, refuted by the authority of Scripture testimonies and right reason, by William

¹ Penn’s Select Works, Sandy Foundations Shaken.

Penn, Junior, a builder on that foundation which cannot be moved."

In his address to the reader, he says: "I have discussed and endeavored a total enervation of those cardinal points and chief doctrines so firmly believed and continually imposed for articles of Christian faith: 1. The Trinity of separate persons, in the unity of essence. 2. God's incapacity to forgive without the fullest satisfaction paid him by another. 3. A justification of impure persons from an imputative righteousness. Which principles, let me tell the reader, are not more repugnant to Scripture, reason, and soul's security, than most destructive to God's honor, in his unity, mercy, and purity."

From the "Conclusion" of this work, the following passage is quoted:

"Mistake me not, we never have disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are one, but men's inventions: For, 1. Their Trinity has not so much as a foundation in the Scriptures. 2. Its original was three hundred years after Christianity was in the world. 3. It having cost much blood, in the council of Sirmium, Anno 355, it was decreed, 'that thenceforth the controversy should not be remembered, because the Scriptures of God make no mention thereof.' Why, then, should it be mentioned now with a maranatha on all that will not bow to this abstruse opinion? 4. And it doubtless hath occasioned idolatry, witness the popish images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 5. It scandalizeth Turks, Jews, and Infidels, and palpably obstructs their reception of the Christian doctrine: Nor is there more to be said on the behalf of the other two; for I can boldly challenge any person to give me one Scripture phrase

which does approach the doctrine of satisfaction (much less the name), considering to what degree it's stretched; not that we do deny, but really confess, that Jesus Christ, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his Father's will, and offered up a most satisfactory sacrifice; but not to pay God, or help him (as otherwise being unable) to save men; and for a justification by an imputative righteousness, whilst not real, 'tis merely an imagination, not a reality, and therefore rejected; otherwise confessed and known to be justifying before God, because there is no abiding in Christ's love without keeping his commandments."¹

The publication of this work gave great offence to the clergy, who considered it an attack upon some of their most cherished doctrines; and through the instigation of the bishop of London, an order was issued for Penn's imprisonment in the Tower, where he was confined with great rigor, and his friends denied access to him.

While thus debarred from the privilege of joining his friends in the public worship of God, he employed his time in writing on religious subjects. The principal work produced at this time, is entitled: "No Cross, no Crown;" a book that has been frequently republished, extensively read, and universally approved.

In his account of his imprisonment, he says: "I was committed in the beginning of December, and was not discharged till the fall of the leaf following, wanting about fourteen days of nine months. As I saw but very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present

¹ Sandy Foundations Shaken. Penn's Select Works, 22.

bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the king's command, to endeavor my change of judgment. But as I told him, and he told the king, that the Tower was the worst argument in the world to convince me; for whoever was in the wrong, those who used force for religion never could be in the right, — so neither the doctor's arguments, nor his moving and interesting motives of the king's favor and preferment, at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publicly the great pains he took, and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning and kindness, I will ever hold myself obliged."¹

During his imprisonment, Wm. Penn wrote and published a small tract, entitled: "Innocency with her open Face, presented by way of apology for the book entitled, *The Sandy Foundations Shaken*." In this tract, without retracting any of the doctrines advanced in the former work, he explains some points more fully. Having understood that the principal ground of his imprisonment was his alleged denial of the Divinity of Christ, he proceeds to disprove this charge, by showing from the Scriptures, that as Christ the Saviour is "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" and as "God is light," and has declared through his prophet, "I, even I am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour;" therefore, God and Christ, although nominally distinguished, are essentially the same.

In this connection, it may be observed, that he applies the term Christ to that Eternal Word, or Logos, that was in the beginning with God, and was God; and who was manifested in the Messiah, for

¹ MS. quoted in Janney's *Life of Penn*, 60.

"it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell."

In relation to the doctrine of satisfaction, he shows that his arguments were principally levelled against the prevailing notion of the impossibility of God's forgiving sin upon repentance, without Christ's paying his justice, by suffering infinite vengeance and eternal wrath for sins, past, present, and to come; and he quotes from Dr. Stillingfleet, to show that this eminent prelate has granted both the possibility of God's pardoning sins as debts without such a rigid satisfaction, and the impossibility of Christ's so suffering for the world." "As for justification by an imputed righteousness, I still say," he continues, "that whosoever believes in Christ shall have remission and justification, but then it must be such a faith as can no more live without works, than a body without a spirit; wherefore, I conclude, that true faith comprehends evangelical obedience, and here the same Dr. Stillingfleet comes into my relief (though it is not wanting), by a plain assertion of the necessity of obedience, viz.: 'Such who make no other condition of the gospel but believing, ought to have a great care to keep their hearts sounder than their heads.'"¹

This tract appears to have given satisfaction, and William Penn was released from the Tower, which was believed to be effected by the mediation of his father's friend, the Duke of York, who afterwards ascended the throne with the title of James II.

In the year 1667, Roger Haydock of Lancashire became a proselyte to the doctrines of Friends. His elder brother, John, had before embraced the same

¹ Penn's Select Works, Folio, London, 1771, p. 26.

views, which occasioned much solicitude to their mother, a zealous Presbyterian, and she requested Roger to converse with him in order to convince him of his supposed errors. The interview resulted in the younger brother embracing the principles of Friends, to which he steadfastly adhered through life. He was a learned and intelligent man, and having received a gift in the ministry, labored zealously and effectively in the cause of Truth.¹

Some years after he became a Friend, Roger Haydock was taken out of a meeting in Lancashire, and brought before Edward Rigby, a justice of the peace, who treated him harshly, and fined him £20 for preaching. This fine the magistrate was disposed to lay upon the hearers; but Roger Haydock told him, he had goods more than sufficient, and therefore others ought not to be made to suffer on his account. Many years afterwards, during the reign of James II., Rigby was apprehended, with others, and sent to prison at Chester. As the prisoners passed through Warrington, they were refused entertainment at the inns, and Roger Haydock received them into his house. He subsequently visited them in prison, and his kindness was acknowledged by Rigby, who said, "he that returned good for evil, was a true follower of Christ."²

In this year, the society was deprived by death of three prominent ministers, whose labors and sufferings having already been related, their peaceful close now claims our attention.

Josiah Coale had travelled much in the service of

¹ Sewel, II. 153. Gough, II. 221.

² Armistead's Select Miscellanies, II. 208.

the gospel, not only in Great Britain, but on the continent of Europe and in America. "He was a good example, as well for his liberality as faithfulness; for as the prosperity of God's truth was above all things most in his eye, so he was always cautious of making the gospel chargeable to any; for, having some estate of his own, he freely employed it in the Lord's service — counting nothing too dear for the name and service of the Lord."

In the time of his last sickness, being visited by Geo. Fox, he was found sitting by the fireside, "filled with the power of the Lord, and speaking to Friends about him as follows: 'Well, friends, be faithful to God, and seek nothing for self or your own glory; and, if any thing wrong arise, judge it down by the power of the Lord God, that so you may be clear in his sight, and answer his witness in all people: then will you have the reward of life. For my part, I have walked in faithfulness with the Lord, and I have thus far finished my testimony, and have peace with the Lord, and his majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me: so mind my love to all friends.'" To Stephen Crisp he said, "Dear heart, keep low in the holy fear of God; that will be thy crown." Afterwards he said, "A minister of Christ must walk as I have walked." Then he desired George Fox to pray that he might have an easy passage. Being placed in bed and supported by his friends, he departed in their arms, without the least sigh or groan, but as one falling into a deep sleep. He died in London, aged thirty-five years and two months; having been a minister twelve years.¹

Sewel, the historian, speaks of him from personal

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 63.

knowledge in the following terms: "It was his life and joy to declare the gospel and to proclaim the word of God, for which he had an excellent ability; and when he spoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a sharp sword. But, though he was a son of thunder, yet his agreeable speech flowed from his mouth, like a pleasant stream, to the consolation and comfort of pious souls. Oh! how pathetically have I heard him pray, when he, as transported and ravished, humbly besought God that it might please him to reach to the hard-hearted, to support the godly, and to preserve them steadfast; nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the Most High in his public prayers!—but his work was now done: he had finished his course, and a time of rest from his labors was come."¹

Thomas Loe, while engaged in the work of the ministry in the city of London, was taken sick; and, being conscious that the time of his departure was at hand, he expressed the joy and hope that attended his mind in the prospect of death. Speaking to William Penn, he said, "Dear heart, bear thy cross. Stand faithful to God, and bear thy testimony in thy day and generation; and God will give thee an eternal crown of glory, that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way that shall prosper, than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, glory to him! for he is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart; my cup runs over. Glory be to his name for ever!"

¹ Sewel, II. 162.

To some who stood by, he said, "Friends, keep your testimony for God: live with him, and he will live with you. Be not troubled — the love of God overcomes my heart." To George Whitehead he said, "George, the Lord is good to me: this day he has covered me with his glory. I am weak; but I am refreshed to see you. The Lord is good to me." Another friend asked him, "How art thou, Thomas?" He answered, "I am near leaving you, I think; but as well in my spirit as I can desire, I bless the Lord! and I never saw more of the glory of God, than I have done this day." In this joyful state, he departed on the fifth of the Eighth month, 1668, with his dying breath singing praises to the Lord.¹

Francis Howgill, being committed to Appleby jail, in the year 1663, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, remained a prisoner there until released by death. In a letter to Margaret Fell, who was then a prisoner in Lancaster castle, he thus expressed the peace of mind he enjoyed while suffering for his religious testimony: "I do, indeed, often rejoice in my heart, that God hath prolonged my days so long, to see so much of God's power and glory brought forth in our age. I am freely given up; and I bless the Lord I am very well content, I am in perfect joy and peace: I bless the Lord, who hath been our refuge and preservation until now." . . . "I am no more weary of bonds than the first day I came in; yet, if it be the will of God, I desire liberty, that I might behold the faces of dear Friends again, and be comforted in them, that we might rejoice together in the Lord. I had but one companion, and he hath laid down the body this last week, — a good man: he hath suffered

¹ Piety Promoted, collated with Sewel.

much; he was in for tithes, and made a sweet end. My wife and children are well, I hear, blessed be God! Remember me dearly to all thy children, and fellow-prisoners and friends thereabouts: and signify, if thou know, where G. Fox is now." . . . "I am thy truly-loving friend and brother in the gospel of Christ."¹

He was taken ill the 11th of the Eleventh month, 1668, O. S. [First month, 1669,] and his departure drawing nigh, he was often very fervent in prayer, as well as instructive in exhortation to those around him. Two days before his death, his wife and several of his friends being present, he said, "Friends, as to matter of words, you must not expect much from me, neither is there any great need of it; or to speak of matters of faith to you who are satisfied; only that you remember my dear love to all Friends who inquire of me, for I ever loved Friends well, and any other in whom truth appeared."

Often he said, in the time of his sickness, that he was content to die, and that he was ready, and praised God for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshments he had received on that his prison-house bed where he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand in his restraint. "This," said he, "was the place of my first imprisonment for the truth at this town; and if it be the place of my laying down the body, I am content."

Several persons of note, inhabitants of Appleby, as the mayor and others, went to visit him, some of whom praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he sweetly replied, "He hath done it."

¹ Letters of Early Friends, XCVIII.

A few hours before his death, some being come to visit him, he prayed fervently with many heavenly expressions, that the Lord, by his mighty power, would preserve them out of all such things as would spot and defile. A little after, recovering some strength, he added, "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently, as among men; and if any inquire after my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith that I lived in and suffered for." After these words, he spoke some others in prayer to God, and thus finished his course in perfect peace, being in the fiftieth year of his age.

He was one of the most eminent among those valiant servants of the Lord who, in the north of England, were early convinced of the principles of Friends. Having labored long and suffered much for the righteous cause, he left many seals of his powerful ministry, and was long remembered as a bright example of the Christian virtues. He wrote much on religious subjects, several of his works being composed in prison, and after his death they were reprinted with the title of "The Dawning of the Gospel-day, and its Light and Glory Discovered."¹

In the year 1669, on the return of Geo. Fox from Ireland,² he landed at Liverpool, and passing through Lancashire, where he had "many precious meetings," he proceeded to Bristol. In that city he met with Margaret Fell, then on a visit to her daughter, Isabel Yeomans. It had now been about a year since Margaret's liberation from Lancaster castle, where she had been four years a prisoner under sen-

¹ Howgill's Works, Piety Promoted, and Sewel.

² See Chap. VIII.

tence of premunire. She and Geo. Fox had long been intimately acquainted, and it had been a considerable time since he had informed her that he believed it would be right for them to take éach other in marriage; but, in their judgment, the time had not then come, and the matter was suffered to rest, while he continued his religious labors.

When they met in Bristol, they concluded that it was a suitable time and place for the solemnization of their nuptials, and at his request she sent for her children in order to inform them of her prospects, and obtain their concurrence.

Her daughters and her sons-in-law, having expressed their satisfaction with the proceeding, measures were taken at the request of Geo. Fox, to secure the estate of Margaret Fell to her and her children, for he desired no pecuniary advantages from the marriage.

On the 18th day of the 8th month (O. S.) 1669, they proposed their intentions of marriage at the men's meeting for discipline in the city of Bristol, when consent was expressed by the children and some of the relatives of Margaret Fell. At another meeting of Friends, held on the 21st of the same month, they again published their intentions of marriage, and concurrence was expressed by relatives and friends present. And their intentions were published a third time, being announced by Dennis Hollister on the 22d of the same month, at a public meeting held in Friends' meeting-house at Broadmead in Bristol. For the full accomplishment of the proposed marriage, a public meeting of men and women was appointed and held at the same place on the 27th day of the 8th month aforesaid, when "Geo.

Fox did solemnly, in the presence of God and his people, declare, that he took Margaret Fell, in the everlasting power and covenant of God, which is from everlasting to everlasting, and in the honorable marriage to be his bride and his wife. And likewise the said Margaret did solemnly declare, that in the everlasting power of the mighty God, and in the unalterable word, and in the presence of God, his angels, and his holy assembly, she took the said Geo. Fox to be her husband." The marriage certificate was witnessed by the signatures of ninety-two persons of both sexes, among whom were some of the most prominent members of the society.¹

At the time of their marriage, George Fox was forty-five years of age, and his wife fifty-five, she having been a widow eleven years. "We staid," he says, "about a month in Bristol, and then went together to Oldstone; where, taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends; in all which counties, I had many large and precious meetings."²

After a short stay in London, where he found "things quiet and well, and the Lord's power over all," he travelled through several countries, expecting to meet his wife in Leicestershire; but on his arrival there, he heard that she had been taken from her house and imprisoned at Lancaster, under the old sentence of premunire, from which she had once been

¹ See Certificate in Janney's Life of G. Fox, p. 310.

² Journal, Vol. II.

discharged. He returned to London, and requested two of his step-daughters, Mary Lower and Sarah Fell, to wait on the king, and inform him of their mother's detention, which they did without delay, and succeeded in obtaining a full discharge, that enabled her to enjoy her estate without molestation.

During his stay in the metropolis, George Fox issued an address to Friends throughout the nation, advising that in all their quarterly and monthly meetings, inquiry should be made for such children of widows and other poor Friends as were suitable for apprenticeship, in order that places might be found for them among the members of their own society. His object was to provide them with suitable homes, where they would receive a guarded religious education, and thus become qualified to promote the comfort and maintenance of their mothers in the decline of life.

He appreciated the advantages of a good education, and employed his influence with the members of his society to provide suitable schools for the instruction of their children. With this view he had, two years before, advised the establishment of a school for boys at Waltham, and another at Shackelwell, "for instructing girls and young maidens, in whatever things were civil and useful in the creation."¹

In the winter of 1669, Charles II. granted an audience to Richard Carver, a Friend, who, in the time of the king's distress, had rendered him a personal service. It appears that after the battle of Worcester, in 1654, when Charles II. became a fugitive, he embarked on board a vessel commanded by John Grove, a worthy Friend, and was taken to the coast of

¹ G. Fox's Journal, II. 74.

France. Richard Carver was the mate of the vessel, and only he and the captain knew the rank of their passenger. When they came near the coast it was ebb tide, and the king with his attendant, Lord Wilmot, attempted to land in a boat, but coming to shoal water, the mate took the king on his shoulders and carried him ashore.

It was fifteen years after this adventure, and nine after the king's restoration, when Richard Carver waited upon him, not to ask any favor for himself, but to solicit the discharge of his imprisoned friends. The king remembered him, and was very friendly to him. Richard Carver remarked, probably in reply to a question of the king, that the reason why he did not call on him sooner, was, that he was satisfied, and enjoyed peace of mind for having assisted to relieve a man in distress, and now he desired nothing of him, but that he would set Friends at liberty who were great sufferers. He presented a list of one hundred and ten that were premunired, and had lain in prison about six years, who could look to none but their sovereign for release. The king took the papers, remarking, there were many of them, and that they would be in again in a month. He added that the country gentlemen complained to him that they were so troubled with the Quakers. He agreed to release six of them; but Richard Carver not being satisfied waited on him a second time, accompanied by Thomas Moore, when they obtained a promise of relief for their suffering friends.

The Conventicle Act of 1664 having expired, the parliament proceeded, in the year 1670, to pass a third act for the suppression of all other religious meetings than those conducted in accordance with the Liturgy

of the Church of England. This inhuman law, intended to impoverish and harass the Dissenters, was advocated by some of the bishops. The chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury had printed a discourse against toleration, in which he asserted, as a main principle, that it would be less injurious to the government to tolerate profane and loose persons, than to allow toleration to religious dissenters.¹

By this act it was declared, "That if any person upwards of sixteen years of age shall be present at any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, where there are five persons or more besides those of the household; in such cases, the offender shall pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second." The preacher or teachers in such meetings, shall forfeit £20 for the first offence, and £40 for the second. And those who knowingly suffer such conventicle in their houses, barns, etc., shall forfeit £20. Any justice of the peace, on the oath of two witnesses, may record the offence, which record shall be taken in law for a full conviction, and shall be certified to the next quarter sessions.

The fines might be levied by distress and sale of the offenders' goods, and in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods of any other person convicted of having been present; and the amount of fines to be appropriated, one-third for the use of the king, one-third for the poor, and one-third to the informer. It was further enacted, "that if any justice of the peace refuse to do his duty, he shall forfeit

¹ W. Penn's Preface to his Trial, and Neal's Hist. of Puritans.

£100, and every constable £5;" and moreover, that "all clauses in this act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the *suppressing of conventicles*, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof."

This iniquitous law deprived the accused of their constitutional right to be tried by a jury; it encouraged a host of greedy, unprincipled informers; and it punished the innocent for the guilty, by laying the fines of the poor upon other persons who might happen to be present.

No sooner had the bishops obtained this law, than some of the clergy exerted themselves to find out and encourage the most profligate wretches to turn informers, and to get such persons into parochial offices as would be most obsequious to their commands.¹

The storm of persecution that burst upon the Dissenters of all classes was probably not intended to fall more heavily upon Friends than others; but the event proved that they had to bear the brunt of it, because they stood firm, and held their meetings openly at stated times; while many others stooped for the storm to pass over them, by discontinuing their meetings, or holding them at unusual times and places.

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, after alluding to the various contrivances of the non-conformist ministers to evade the provisions of this act, proceeds to describe the conduct of the Friends. "The behavior of the Quakers," he says, "was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the

¹ T. Ellwood's Life, 131.

spirit of martyrdom. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty, and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting-house again as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the door, saying they would not be ashamed nor afraid to own their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet Daniel, they would do it the more publicly, because they were forbid."¹ In this passage there is one expression from which an erroneous conclusion may be drawn. The Friends did not forbear to "petition to be set at liberty," but, on the contrary, much care was taken to inform the public authorities of their severe sufferings, and they frequently petitioned the king for the discharge of their brethren and sisters in prison.

The new Conventicle Act came into force on the 10th of May [then the Third month], and on the following First-day a guard was placed to keep Friends out of their meeting-house in Grace-church street. They met in the street, and George Fox began to preach, but was presently pulled down, when another Friend stood up, and was served in like manner. They were both taken before the mayor, by a constable and an informer; but it being discovered by the way, that the latter was a Papist, the indignation of

¹ Neal, II. 268; and Burnet, 398, cited by Neal.

the people was excited, and he fled to escape their vengeance. There being no evidence sufficient to convict the prisoners, they were dismissed.

On the same day, at Devonshire House, Stephen Hubbersty began to preach, but was soon taken away by the guard. John Burnyeat then rose to speak, but was pulled down, and taken before the mayor, who fined him twenty pounds. At Westminster meeting, William Simpson and John Songhurst, while engaged in preaching, were successively pulled down by soldiers. Many other Friends were grievously abused; some having their clothes torn off, others fined and imprisoned.¹ So great was the cupidity of the informers and magistrates, that many Friends in comfortable circumstances were brought to poverty by the spoliation of their goods for fines; and it was thought that the large sums thus levied were generally shared between the informers and officers.²

Not only in the metropolis, but in many other places, persecution was excessively severe; "for many of the Friends were beaten with swords, and pikes, and muskets, to that degree, that their blood ran along the ground; and the informers were so eager to hunt after their prey, that they informed of meetings where there were none."³

At a meeting of the King and council, the Archbishop of Canterbury and many peers being present, an order was passed, directing Christopher Wren, Surveyor-general, to demolish the Friends' meeting-house at Horsleydown, in Southwark, in case they should presume to hold any more meetings in it. About a week afterwards, a sergeant, with soldiers,

¹ Besse, I. 408.

² Sewel, II. 178.

³ Ibid. 181.

hauled the Friends out of the house, when the troopers came and rode among them, in order to disperse them, and wounded upwards of twenty persons. On the next meeting day they were kept out by soldiers; and a few days after, a party of soldiers came with carpenters' tools, and pulled down the meeting-house, carried away most of the materials, and sold them. On the next day, at the usual time of meeting, Friends assembled on the ruins, but the soldiers came and dragged them into the street. A week afterwards they again met, when the captain ordered his soldiers to knock their brains out; they hauled them away from the place, and having kept them till evening, committed them to Marshalsea prison, without any warrant from a civil magistrate.

While the soldiers were engaged in these inhuman proceedings, they were asked, "How they could thus deal with a people that had love and good-will to all men, and made no resistance?" They answered, "We had rather, and it would be better for us, if you did resist and oppose." From this it was concluded that their cruel measures were intended to provoke opposition, in order that they might imbrue their hands in blood, and seize the estates of the sufferers.¹

A short time afterwards, Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, assisted by a captain and soldiers, demolished the Friends' meeting-house at Ratcliff, and carried away twelve cart-loads of the materials. The Friends continued, however, to hold their meetings on the ruins, or as near as the guards would permit, and many of them were subjected to fines and imprisonment.

¹ Besse, I. 695, and G. Whitehead's C. P., 342.

It was Robinson's intention to pull down the Friends' meeting-house at Wheeler street, but this design was frustrated by the judicious interposition of Gilbert Latey, in whom the title of the property was vested. Being on a religious mission in the west of England, he was informed of the measures about to be pursued, and immediately on his return, he put a poor Friend into the meeting-house to whom he made a lease.

Soon after, Gilbert was summoned to appear before the lieutenant, who looking sternly at him, inquired, "Do you own the meeting-house in Wheeler street?"

Gilbert.—Yes, and several more, too.

Robinson.—How dare you own any meeting-house contrary to the king's laws?

Gilbert.—I owned that meeting-house before the king had any such law.

Robinson.—I find you are a pretty fellow; pray, who lives in that house?

Gilbert.—My tenant.

Robinson.—Your tenant! what is your tenant?

Gilbert.—One that I thought fit to grant a lease to.

Robinson.—Then you have a tenant that has taken a lease from you?

Gilbert.—Yes.

Upon this, the lieutenant looked displeased, and addressing another Friend who was present, said, "I think you have now fitted me, and brought a fellow to the purpose: had your Friends been as wise as this fellow, you might have had your other meeting-houses as well as this." He then dismissed them; and Friends' meeting-houses being all put in possession of tenants, were under the protection of law.¹

¹ Life of Gilbert Latey, London, 1707, 75.

Among the various methods adopted by the public authorities to suppress the meetings of Friends, one of the most remarkable was that of compelling them to hear the Liturgy of the Established Church. With this view, Sir Samuel Sterling, mayor of London, sent an episcopal priest to Friends' meeting at Gracechurch street, to read the common prayer, and to preach a sermon in the gallery. He was guarded by soldiers, and a great concourse of people were in attendance, being led by curiosity to see the result of this novel expedient. He took his text from Eph. v. 2, and iv. 2, 15, in which the apostle exhorts the believers to "walk in love;" "with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love." His subject and discourse being so inconsistent with his conduct in coming there, guarded by armed men, to force his doctrines on an unwilling audience, that some of the Friends could not forbear to express their disapprobation, which was followed by rude and abusive behavior on the part of the soldiers. When the usual confession of sins was read, and the common prayer recited, "Lord, have mercy upon us," some of the women cried out, "Woe unto you, hypocrites."

At the conclusion of the service, George Whitehead stood up and preached the gospel of peace and love, showing the inconsistency of persecution with the spirit of Christ. The people were quiet and attentive, but he was allowed to speak for a short time only, when he was violently pulled down by the soldiers, and carried before the mayor. Two witnesses testified that after their minister had ended, George Whitehead stood up and preached, but what he said they did not know. The mayor remarked, that if

the minister had done, it was then a conventicle, and he must fine the prisoner £20. It does not appear that the fine threatened in this case, was ever levied; but George Whitehead, at other times, suffered the loss of his property to a large amount for the attendance of meetings.¹

It was in the autumn of this year, that the celebrated trial of William Penn, and William Mead, under the conventicle act, took place at the Old Bailey, in London. On going to the meeting at Grace-church street, they found the house guarded by a band of soldiers, and the Friends not being permitted to enter, gathered about the doors. William Penn, after standing some time in silence, felt it his duty to preach; but had not proceeded far, when he and William Mead were arrested by the constables, who produced warrants from Sir Samuel Sterling, the mayor of London, dated August the 14th, 1670. Early in the following month, they were brought before a court, composed of the mayor, recorder, five aldermen, and two sheriffs, and their trial occupied four days, resulting at last in their acquittal by the jury. They were, however, remanded to prison for fines unjustly imposed, for an alleged contempt of court. During the progress of the trial, strenuous efforts were made by the judges to intimidate the jury, so as to obtain a verdict of guilty; but they stood firm in asserting their right to render an impartial verdict, and for their fidelity were sentenced by that arbitrary tribunal to a fine of forty marks each, and imprisonment until paid.²

¹ G. Whitehead's C. P. 330.

² For a full report of this trial, see Janney's Life of Penn.

The jury was composed of resolute and patriotic men, among whom Edward Bushel was considered the most inflexible. They determined to test the authority of the court, refused to pay their fines, and were committed to Newgate. Application being made by their counsel to the Court of Common Pleas, a writ of habeas corpus was granted, and the case was tried, when a decision was given in favor of Bushel and his fellow jurymen, who were forthwith liberated.

These trials are considered among the most important in the history of English jurisprudence, and resulted in the vindication of "the people's ancient and just liberties against the arbitrary proceedings of the court."¹

William Penn and William Mead being committed to Newgate, for the non-payment of their fines, which they conscientiously refused to discharge, were kept in prison but a few days, when Admiral Penn sent the money privately, and obtained their release.

The admiral had been for some time in declining health; disappointments and sickness had taught him to estimate more justly the value of a religious life, and had, in a great measure, weaned him from the inordinate love of the world. He longed for a complete reconciliation with his son, whose noble character he was now prepared to appreciate. Sensible of his approaching end, he addressed his son in these words: "Son William, I am weary of the world! I would not live over my days again, if I could command them with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God. The thought

¹ Penn's Select Works, 159.

of this has followed me to this day. Oh! have a care of sin. It is that which is the sting both of life and death. Three things I command you:

"First. Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; so you will keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in the day of trouble.

"Secondly. Whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably, for that gives security and despatch.

"Lastly. Be not troubled at disappointments; for if they may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is in vain.

"If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence; for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time. These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world."

Just before he died, looking with composure at his son, he said, "Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother. Live in love. Shun all manner of evil, and I pray God to bless you all, and he will bless you."¹

William Penn was not permitted to remain many months at liberty, before he was again arrested at a Friends' meeting in London, and being taken to the Tower, was again examined by the Lieutenant, Sir John Robinson.

¹ Penn's No Cross No Crown, Ch. XXI.

In the course of the examination, the following passages occur:

J. Robinson.—I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you; you are an ingenious gentleman, all the world must allow you that; and you have a plentiful estate. Why should you render yourself unhappy, by associating with such a simple people?

W. Penn.—I confess I have made it my choice, to relinquish the company of those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse with those that are honestly simple.

J. Robinson.—I wish you wiser.

W. Penn.—And I wish thee better.

J. Robinson.—You have been as bad as other folks.

W. Penn.—When, and where? I charge thee to tell this company to my face.

J. Robinson.—Abroad, and at home too.

W. Penn.—I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me of ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word (much less that I ever made it my practice). I speak this to God's glory, that has ever preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and that from a child begat a hatred in me towards them.

J. Robinson.—Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill-will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great deal of kindness for you.

W. Penn.—But thou hast an ill way of expressing it. This remark was exceedingly pertinent, for the oath being tendered to him, and conscientiously refused, he was sentenced by Robinson to six months' imprisonment in Newgate.

While immured in that loathsome prison, he em-

ployed himself in writing several religious tracts, the most important of which is entitled, "The Great Cause of Liberty of Conscience once more briefly debated and defended by the authority of Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity."

This work, with others from his pen at different times, exerted a powerful influence in preparing the public mind for that change of policy in regard to toleration subsequently adopted by the British government.

CHAPTER XI.

BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.

1670-75.

THE Dutch territories called the New Netherlands, from which the States of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware have since been formed, were, in the year 1664, conquered by the English, and granted by Charles II. to his brother James, Duke of York. The land between the Hudson and the Delaware was, about the same time, assigned by the Duke to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietaries of Carolina. In honor of Carteret, who was then governor of the Island of Jersey, the territory was called New Jersey. It was then a wilderness, mostly in possession of the Indians, except a Dutch colony at Bergen, a settlement of New England Puritans on

the Raritan, and a few families of Friends at Middletown and some other places.¹

The Proprietaries of New Jersey, in order to promote the rapid settlement of their province, conferred upon the infant colony a liberal constitution, securing to the people freedom of conscience, and exemption from taxation, except by act of a General Assembly, to be composed of the governor and council, with an equal number of deputies chosen by the colonists.² Lands were promised largely at a moderate quit-rent; but unhappily Berkeley and Cartaret being patrons of the slave-trade, offered a bounty of seventy-five acres of land for the importation of each able slave.³

About the year 1670, a meeting for worship was settled at Shrewsbury, Monmouth county, being the first Friends' meeting in New Jersey. A Monthly and General Meeting were also held there, the first settlers being nearly all Friends. At a very early day, a settlement of Friends at Middletown, in the same county, held meetings at each other's houses before a meeting-house was built.⁴

The year 1671 was remarkable, among the Friends in America, on account of the large number of ministers from the mother-country who visited their shores. John Burnyeat, accompanied by his friend, William Simpson, had, the year previous, arrived in Barbadoes, where they "had great and weighty service" in the gospel of Christ.

William Simpson was there taken with a fever,

¹ Smith's Hist. of N. Jersey; Smith's Hist. of Pa. in Hazard's Reg. Vol. VI.; and Bancroft's U. S. II.

² Smith's N. Jersey, Appendix No. 1.

³ Bancroft, III. 315.

⁴ Smith, in Hazard's Reg. VII. 100.

and died on the eighth of the Twelfth month, 1670, after an illness of six days. He was a faithful minister of Christ, and had suffered much persecution in England on account of his religious testimony. After he had been sick some days, he signified to Friends in attendance that he should die; and, observing some of them shedding tears, he said, "Friends, be noble, and do not hinder me in my passage; for I am an innocent man." . . . "O Friends! it is the life that the Lord looks at: for he that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son hath not life."¹ Just before his departure, he gave a living, heavenly testimony to the Truth, with wholesome advice to them that were about him, and departed in the peace and joy of the Lord.²

John Burnyeat, having finished his service in Barbadoes, sailed for New York, where he arrived early in the Second month, 1671. He visited Friends on Long Island, and attended their Half-year meeting at Oyster bay. He then proceeded to Rhode Island, and attended their Yearly meeting, "which," he says, "begins the ninth of the Fourth month every year, and continues for much of a week, and is a general meeting once a year for all Friends in New England."³

Leaving Rhode Island, John Burnyeat pursued his journey, holding meetings and visiting Friends at Sandwich, Tewksbury, Marshfield, Scituate, Boston, Salem, Hampton, and Piscataway. Returning, he passed through Providence and Long Island, and went

¹ Piety Promoted.

² J. Burnyeat, 39.

³ "There is good reason to believe that the Yearly meetings of Rhode Island had been regularly held from 1661, the year in which Bishop says it was set up." Bowden's Hist. of Friends in America, I. 280.

over to East Jersey, to visit Friends there. After holding some meetings, he again visited Long Island, and attended the Half-year meeting at Oyster bay, which began the eighth of the Eighth month, 1671. The meeting was disturbed by some persons in profession with Friends, who objected to the discipline recently introduced, and were greatly dissatisfied with the letters of advice issued by Geo. Fox. They brought a manuscript book, containing their strictures, and insisted that it should be read in the meeting. This being reluctantly, but quietly, submitted to, John Burnyeat, after the reading was ended, took the book, and adverting to the several heads of their argument, showed the falsehood of their charges, and vindicated Geo. Fox from the aspersions cast upon him. Friends were generally satisfied, and the power of Divine grace prevailing over the meeting, many hearts were broken into tenderness, while fervent prayer and joyful thanksgiving ascended to Him who is the ever-present Author of all good.

Soon after this meeting, John Burnyeat, accompanied by Daniel Gould, went to New York, had one meeting there, and then embarked in a vessel bound for Maryland. After a boisterous voyage, they landed on the bank of the Patuxent, and soon after proceeded to Virginia, where they found Friends in a more satisfactory condition than they had been some years before; evincing by their zeal and tenderness a growth in the spiritual life.¹

While John Burnyeat and his companion were thus engaged in the service of their Divine Master, a large number of gospel messengers were on their

¹ J. Burnyeat's Works, 39, 43.

way to the New World; being pressed in spirit to encounter the perils of the great deep, in order to proclaim the doctrines of life and salvation.

On the twelfth of the Sixth month, 1671, the yacht *Industry*, Thomas Foster, master, sailed from Gravesend, bound for Barbadoes; having for passengers, George Fox, William Edmunson, Thomas Briggs, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooten, and Elizabeth Miers, besides other persons; amounting in all to about fifty. On their passage, they were chased by a pirate from the Barbary coast, which, on a moonlight night, overtook them, and was ready to board them; but, immediately, a cloud covered the yacht, and a fresh gale sprung up, which enabled them to effect their escape.¹

After a passage of more than seven weeks, they landed at Barbadoes; and, George Fox being sick of a fever, the Friends held their meeting for church discipline at the house of Thomas Rouse, where he lay. He gave them much salutary advice in relation to many points of church discipline. "Respecting their negroes," he says, "I desired them to endeavor to train them up in the fear of the Lord, as well those that were bought with their money, as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' I desired, also, that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly

¹ See Journals of G. Fox and W. Edmundson, and Janney's *Life of Fox*, 321.

and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that, after certain years of servitude, they should make them free. Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings, by the spirit and power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of Friends, in the faith and holy order of the gospel."

When sufficiently recovered, he paid a visit to the governor, who received him courteously, and treated him with much kindness. There was, soon after, a great meeting of Friends at Bridgetown, attended by the governor and other officers, both civil and military. It was a season of divine favor, in which George Fox and other Friends labored effectually in the cause of truth.

The Friends who came over in the yacht *Industry* being called to different fields of religious labor, separated soon after their arrival at Barbadoes. James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, went on in the vessel to Jamaica, and William Edmundson, with his companion Thomas Briggs, after attending some meetings, proceeded on a visit to the Leeward islands, being accompanied by Colonel Morris of Barbadoes. They first landed at Antigua, where they had great meetings, and "many were convinced and turned to the Lord."¹ Leaving the island, they continued their travels, and were accompanied by Colonel Winthrop, formerly governor of Antigua, who, with his family, had embraced the principles of Friends. Having a vessel of his own, he took the Friends on board and sailed to Nevis. At this island they were not allowed to land, and

¹ W. Edmundson's Journal, 61.

the captain of the vessel was required to enter into a bond under a penalty of a thousand pounds to carry his passengers back to Antigua. While the vessel lay at Nevis, Colonel Stapleton, governor of Montserrat, came on board, to whom William Edmundson remarked: "It is very hard usage that Englishmen coming so far to visit their countrymen cannot be permitted to come on shore to refresh themselves after so long a voyage." He answered, "It is true, but we hear that, since your coming to the Carribee islands, there are seven hundred of our militia turned Quakers, and the Quakers will not fight; we have need of men to fight, being surrounded by enemies: and that is the very reason why Governor Wheeler will not suffer you to come ashore."

Being carried back to Antigua, they were received with gladness, many persons of all ranks flocking to their meetings, and generally acknowledging the truth of their doctrines. After their service was ended they returned to Barbadoes, being conveyed by Colonel Winthrop in his vessel, and finding George Fox still in that island, they had many precious meetings together.

Many false reports concerning Friends being spread in the island, George Fox, "with some other Friends, drew up a paper to go forth in the name of the people called Quakers, for the clearing of truth and Friends from those false reports."¹ The insertion of long documents does not comport with the plan of this work; but the letter of George Fox to the governor and council of Barbadoes, having since attracted much attention, will be inserted in the Appendix.

On the 18th of the Eleventh month, 1671, George

¹ Journal of G. Fox.

Fox, William Edmundson, Robert Widders, Solomon Eccles, and Elizabeth Hooten, embarked for Jamaica. On their arrival they found there James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, who had been laboring in the service of the gospel, and now both companies co-operating, they travelled through the island holding meetings. "There was," says George Fox, "a great convincement, and many received the truth; some of whom were people of account in the world."¹

About a week after they landed at Jamaica, Elizabeth Hooten, being far advanced in years, was removed from works to rewards. She was one of the earliest proselytes of George Fox, and was said to be the first of her sex who appeared as a minister among Friends. Having been a faithful laborer in the Lord's vineyard, and a patient sufferer in his righteous cause, "she departed in peace like a lamb, bearing testimony to truth at her departure."²

Leaving Solomon Eccles on the island, the rest of the company embarked for Maryland, and after a boisterous passage of more than six weeks, they landed near the mouth of the Patuxent, where they learned that John Burnyeat had appointed a general meeting for Friends in Maryland to be held at West river in the Second month (April O. S.), 1672. "It was," writes George Fox, "so ordered, in the good providence of God, that we landed just time enough to reach that meeting, by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the Friends of the province together." It was a very large meeting, and held four days, being attended not only by Friends, but by many of other persuasions, among

¹ Journals of G. Fox and W. Edmundson.

² G. Fox.

whom were the speaker of their assembly and other persons of distinction. After the meeting for public worship was ended, they held one for church discipline, in which it appears, from the journal of John Burnyeat, that "George Fox did wonderfully open the service thereof unto Friends, and they with gladness of heart received advice in such necessary things as were then opened unto them, and all were comforted and edified."

From West river, they went to the Cliffs, also in Maryland, where they held another General Meeting for worship and discipline. "To this meeting many came who received the truth with reverence." . . . "Most of the backsliders came in again, and several of those meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the church."¹

After these two memorable meetings, the ministers from abroad parted company, in order to accomplish the services to which they were severally called. James Lancaster and John Cartwright, went by sea to New England; William Edmundson and three other Friends sailed for Virginia; while George Fox, John Burnyeat, Robert Widders, and Geo. Pattison, with several Friends of the province, went by boat to the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Here they had another "large and heavenly meeting," in which many people "received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed." George Fox sent to "the Indian emperor," with his chiefs, to come to the meeting. He says, "I had two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly, and confessed to it. What I spoke to them, I desired them to speak to their people; and let them know

¹ G. Fox's Journal.

that God was raising up his tabernacle of witness in their wilderness country, and was setting up his standard and glorious ensign of righteousness. They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired 'where the next meeting would be, and said they would come to it;' yet they said, 'they had a great debate with their council before they came now.'"¹

Next day, George Fox and his companions set out from the head of Third Haven creek, to travel on horseback to New England. It was a fatiguing and perilous journey through the wilderness, over bogs and great rivers. They generally crossed the rivers in canoes, causing their horses to swim alongside, or to follow them. After passing Newcastle, they crossed the Delaware, and with much difficulty procured a guide through the western part of New Jersey, then inhabited only by Indians. Sometimes they slept in the woods by a fire, at others they lodged in the Indian wigwams; while their horses were allowed to graze through the night. They were kindly entertained by the Indians, but food was scarce among them. At length they reached Middletown, in New Jersey, and were gladly received at the house of Richard Hartshorne. This Friend, who came from London, and settled at Middletown in the year 1669, was distinguished for his benevolence and public services.²

He took George Fox and his companions in his boat to Long Island, and they arrived just in time to attend the Half-year's Meeting at Oyster Bay. On First-day, the meeting for worship began, and con-

¹ G. Fox's Journal.

² Smith's Hist. of Pa.; Hazard's Reg., VI. 181.

tinued two days, then a meeting for church discipline occupied one day. This meeting was attended by the same disaffected persons who had been so troublesome at the preceding Half-year's Meeting, and now they wished to renew their opposition; but George Fox would not suffer it. He told them, "If they had anything to object against the order of truth, which Friends were in, they would give them a meeting another day on purpose."

The following day, a meeting was held accordingly, which many of them attended, and among them was George Dennis, who had been the chief instigator of their proceedings. He endeavored to clear himself and cast the blame upon others; but John Burnyeat proved him to be the prime mover of the opposition at the former meeting, and the fact being fastened upon him, his deceitful spirit was made manifest, and "the Lord's power broke forth gloriously to the confounding of the gainsayers."¹

After visiting some meetings, George Fox, John Burnyeat, and the other Friends travelling with them, proceeded to Rhode Island, where they arrived the 30th of the Third month, 1672, and were kindly entertained at the house of Nicholas Easton, the governor, who was a member of the Society of Friends.

"The week following," writes George Fox, "the Yearly Meeting for Friends of New England, and other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which, besides many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and George Cartwright, from another way. This meeting lasted six days. The first four were spent in general public meetings for worship; to

¹ G. Fox's and J. Burnyeat's Journals. •

which abundance of other people came. For having no priests in the island, and no restriction to any particular way of worship, and the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequenting meetings, it so encouraged the people, that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and the truth had good reception. I have rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days, which was also taken notice of by other Friends. These public meetings over, the men's meeting [for discipline] began, which was large, precious, and weighty. The day following was the women's meeting, which also was large, and very solemn. These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the church, many weighty things were opened and communicated to them, by way of advice, information and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet and savory amongst them. In these, several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the church, and to see that all who profess truth, walk according to the glorious gospel of God. When this great general meeting was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord which was over all, and his blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts,

to their several habitations in the several colonies where they lived."¹

Friends in the ministry being called to different fields of labor, John Burnyeat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison went to the eastern part of New England, where they had many satisfactory meetings. James Lancaster, accompanied by John Stubbs, who had lately come from Barbadoes, followed in the same direction, but were imprisoned at Boston, and banished from that jurisdiction. Meanwhile, George Fox and Robert Widders remained in Rhode Island, finding much openness for religious service.

Accompanied by the governor, they went to Providence and Narragansett, where great crowds from the neighboring country, and even from Connecticut, attended their meetings; and George Fox was enabled to preach the gospel with that convincing power which the Spirit of Truth alone can give. Having heard that some of the magistrates had said, "If they had money enough, they would hire him to be their minister," he remarked to his friends, "That it was time for him to be gone, for if their eyes were so much turned to him, or any man, they would not come to their own [spiritual] teacher." "This thing of hiring ministers," he observes, "has spoiled many by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labor is to bring all to their own teacher in themselves."

These services being ended, he set out on his return to New Jersey and the Southern Provinces, accompanied by Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, a planter of Barba-

¹ G. Fox's and J. Burnyeat's Journals.

does. On their way they called at Shelter Island, which lies contiguous to the eastern end of Long Island. Here they held a meeting for the Indians, attended by the chief, with his council, and about a hundred of his people. They sat down quietly like Friends, and were very attentive to the discourse of George Fox, which was interpreted by an Indian that spoke English well. After meeting, they were very affectionate, and confessed that what they had heard was the truth.

While on this island, George Fox and his companions met with William Edmundson, who had just returned from his visit to the South. On parting with his friends in Maryland, he had travelled through Virginia, where he found "things much out of order," as regards church discipline. Having obtained the company of two Friends, he proceeded to Carolina, travelling on horseback through the wilderness, where there was no path, guided by marks on the trees, and resting on the ground at night.

On reaching the Albemarle river, they met with a very cordial reception at the house of Henry Phillips, who had been convinced of Friends' principles in New England. He had not seen a Friend for seven years, and wept for joy at the greeting of these gospel messengers. It being First-day, a meeting of the neighbors was soon convened, in which the word of truth was preached with authority and acceptance.

After holding another satisfactory meeting in Carolina, they returned to Virginia, where William Edmundson was instrumental in restoring some meetings that had been declining. The Friends in that Province had suffered much on account of their religious testimony, which was attributed to the hostility

of the governor, Sir William Berkeley. William Edmundson called upon him, but found him peevish and uncourteous. He also visited, by invitation, Major-General Richard Bennet, who had attended one of his meetings, and was convinced of Friends' principles, to which he afterwards adhered.

Having performed the service assigned him in Virginia and Maryland, William Edmundson went by sea to New York, where he held a satisfactory meeting at the inn, and then proceeded to Shelter Island, and met with George Fox, as before stated. They spent two or three days together, and then "took leave one of another, and parted in the sweet love of God."¹

William Edmundson proceeded towards Boston, in order to take passage for Ireland; but previous to his embarkation, while passing through Rhode Island, he was concerned in a public controversy, which attracted much attention.

Roger Williams, who in former years had been so distinguished for his tolerant principles, had now, in his old age, become a bitter opponent of Friends. He had published fourteen propositions, which he engaged to maintain against any of the Quakers from Old England, proposing to discuss seven of them at Newport, and the others at Providence. The challenge was accepted, and a great concourse of people assembled in Friends' meeting-house at Newport to hear the discussion, which lasted three days—John Burnyeat, John Stubbs, and William Edmundson defending the principles and conduct of Friends. The propositions of Williams proved to be perversions of

¹ W. Edmundson's Journal, 73.

Friends' doctrines, and gross calumnies against their practices, which were clearly refuted. At Providence the remaining propositions were discussed during one day, and with the same result.

Roger Williams subsequently published a scurrilous book, entitled, "George Fox digged out of his Burrow," in which he asserts that he challenged G. Fox to meet him in discussing those propositions; but "the old Fox thought it best to run for it, and leave the work to his journeymen." This called forth an answer from George Fox and John Burnyeat, entitled, "The New England Firebrand Quenched," in which they show that George Fox had never given Williams any cause of offence, nor received a challenge from him; but, on the contrary, had left the colony before his propositions were published. With regard to his book, they say, "Such ungracious language and unwholesome words we have never met with in any one's writings."¹

After the controversy with Williams, John Burnyeat, accompanied by John Stubbs, travelled in Connecticut, holding meetings at Hartford and other places; then, parting with John Stubbs, and being joined by John Cartwright, he went to New York, and embarked for Maryland. He landed on the banks of the Patuxent, visited the meetings of Friends, attended a meeting among the Indians, and then, accompanied by Geo. Pattison, took passage for Ireland.

George Fox, Robert Widders, and James Lancaster, on leaving Shelter Island, went to Middletown in New Jersey, where they had a "glorious

¹ New England Firebrand Quenched, London, 1678, 240.

meeting;" and thence, conducted by Indian guides, they travelled through the wilderness towards Maryland. The journey was exceedingly laborious, and sometimes dangerous, there being many deep bogs and wide streams to cross, yet they generally travelled thirty or forty miles a day, and at night lay by a fire in the woods. As they passed the Indian towns, they found many opportunities to preach the gospel to the natives.

At New Castle they had a precious meeting in the governor's house; many acknowledged the truth of their doctrines, and some embraced them in the love of the gospel.

Continuing their journey, they came to Kent county in Maryland, and had a meeting which was attended by some hundreds of people, among whom were an Indian Sachem and two of his chiefs. By means of an interpreter, Geo. Fox spoke to these natives, who listened attentively, and manifested the most cordial feelings.

At Third-Haven creek, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, they attended on the 3d of the 8th month a General Meeting for all the Friends of Maryland. It held five days; the first three they had meetings for public worship; the other two were occupied with church business. Geo. Fox writes in his Journal, "I went by boat every day four or five miles to the meeting, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, 'There were never so many boats seen there together before,' and one of the justices said he never saw so many people together in that country. It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously

manifested ; Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced ; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all : everlasting praises to his holy name for ever. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began, and were held the other two days, for I had something to impart to them which concerned the glory of God, the order of the gospel, and the government of Christ Jesus. When these meetings were over, we took our leave of Friends in those parts, whom we left well established in the truth."

Geo. Fox and his companions, after attending some other meetings in Maryland, set sail for Virginia, and in three days reached Nansemond, where they held a meeting, and then pursued their journey to Carolina. The route lay through swamps and bogs more dangerous than any they had passed, and travelling on horseback, they were wet up to the knees, yet in this condition were compelled to pass the night in the woods. On reaching Bonner's creek, a branch of the Roanoke, they left their jaded horses and proceeded in a canoe to Albemarle Sound.

The people whom they met on their way received them gladly. Among them was Captain Nathaniel Betts, who inquired of the Friends concerning a woman in Cumberland, said to have been healed by their prayers after she had been given over by the physicians. Geo. Fox replied, "We do not glory in such things, but many such things have been done by the power of Christ."

Continuing their boat journey, they reached the governor's plantation, who, with his wife, "received them lovingly." Here a doctor undertook to dispute with them, maintaining that the Light or Spirit of

God had not appeared to all men, and averring that it was not in the Indians. Geo. Fox then called an Indian, and asked him, "Whether there was not something in him that reproved him when he lied or did wrong to any one?" He answered that there was; and that he was ashamed when he had done or spoken wrong.

The Friends, feeling a deep interest in the welfare of the Indians, went among them, and Geo. Fox spoke to them by an interpreter "concerning Christ, showing them that he had died for all men; for their sins as well as for others, and had enlightened them as well as others, and that if they did that which was evil he would burn them; but if they did well they would not be burned."¹ Their young king, and others of their chief men, were present, and seemed to receive kindly these words of exhortation.

Geo. Fox and his companions "having made a little entrance for truth," among the scattered inhabitants of Carolina, returned towards Virginia, attending several meetings on the way, in which they had "good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender." "We travelled," says Geo. Fox, "about a hundred miles from Carolina into Virginia, in which time we observed great variety of climates." . . . "But the power of the Lord is the same in all; is over all, and doth reach the good in all, praised be the Lord forever."

They spent about three weeks travelling through Virginia, mostly among Friends, having large and precious meetings, in which the Lord's power was eminently manifested. The last week was employed

¹ Journal of G. Fox, II. 136.

in the regulation of church discipline, which was greatly needed.

Having finished their service in Virginia, they set sail in the latter part of autumn, in an open boat for Maryland; and after suffering much from exposure, they landed at James Preston's, on the Patuxent river. They attended two meetings, and then the weather becoming unusually severe, it was deemed unsafe to go abroad. As soon as the cold abated, they resumed their travels, and spent the winter in prosecuting their religious labors.

Among the meetings they held, one was appointed for them at an Indian town, and was attended by a Sachem, called by the colonists the Indian Emperor. He, with his chiefs and warriors, sat with much gravity, and listened attentively to the discourse of George Fox, which was interpreted to them, and appeared to be cordially accepted.

On the 17th of the Third month (May), 1673, the General Meeting of Friends for the province of Maryland was held, and continued four days. "It was," says Geo. Fox, "a wonderful, glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all; blessed and praised be his holy name forever, who over all giveth dominion."

At the close of the meeting, taking leave of Friends in great tenderness, Geo. Fox, Robert Widders, and James Lancaster, went by water to the place where they were to embark, and next day they sailed for England.

In the year 1675, William Edmundson embarked at Cork for Barbadoes, where he arrived after a tedious passage of eight weeks. There had recently been a disastrous hurricane on the island, which destroyed

much property, and many lives. The people appeared to be humbled by it, and resorted to meetings in great numbers, to whom the word of life was preached by William Edmundson, with freedom and success. He travelled through all parts of the island, holding meetings, in which many were convinced of the doctrines he preached, and "Friends' hearts were opened and enlarged in the love of God."

A priest, named Ramsay, engaged in a public controversy with him, but being foiled in argument, went to the governor and lodged a complaint against him. William Edmundson, hearing that the governor was about to issue a warrant for his apprehension, called on him and found him much excited. "I am informed," said the governor, "that you are making the negroes Christians, and will make them rebel and cut our throats." "It is a good work," replied Edmundson, "to bring them to the knowledge of God and Christ Jesus, and to believe in him that died for them and for all men; that will keep them from rebelling, and cutting any man's throat; but if they do rebel and cut your throats, it will be through your own doings, in keeping them in ignorance and under oppression, allowing them to live like beasts, and denying them suitable food and clothing." This bold remonstrance was so effectual, that the governor grew very moderate, and dismissed William Edmundson, requesting him to appear next day before the council. He appeared accordingly, and found Ramsay was there, accusing Friends with heresy, blasphemy, and treason, which he said he could prove out of Edward Burrough's book. A Friend went for the book, and brought it to the governor. It was placed in the priest's hands, who turned over the leaves without

finding anything to prove his charges, and being completely discomfited, asked forgiveness of the council.

During the stay of William Edmundson, so great were the crowds in attendance at Friends' meetings, that the houses would not contain them. A large number of proselytes were made, and among them were many of the poor blacks, who confessed to the truths of the gospel.¹ After being about five months in Barbadoes, he embarked for Rhode Island.

CHAPTER XII.

ENGLAND.

1672-80.

In the spring of the year 1672, King Charles II. issued a Declaration of indulgence to Dissenters, "to suspend the penal laws in matters ecclesiastical." In this document, the king, after alluding to the many methods of coercion that had been used during his reign to reduce dissent, makes the following acknowledgment: "It being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all these forceable courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several statutes and acts of Parliament." He then proceeds to declare his will to be, that all the penal laws against

¹ Wm. Edmundson's Letter to Friends in Ireland, 1675.

Non-conformists be immediately suspended, — that a sufficient number of places of worship for Dissenters shall be allowed in all parts of the kingdom, — and that Roman Catholics shall be indulged in the exercise of their religion in their private houses only; but not in public places of worship.

This measure, which appears to be laudable in itself, and calculated to promote the public weal, was received with distrust by the people, and even by many of the Dissenters. They considered it an arbitrary exercise of the king's prerogative, that would become a dangerous precedent; and they very generally believed that the motive of the king and his advisers was not to relieve them, but to favor the Catholics. Few of the Dissenters at that day were so comprehensive in their views, and so liberal in their feelings, as to desire unrestricted toleration of religious dissent; for we find that Baxter, one of the most enlightened among them, did not hesitate to declare that "he abhorred unlimited liberty, or toleration of all."

The ground occupied by Friends raised them far above all sectarian feelings, enabling them to see that liberty of conscience is equally due to all men, and that it should not be merely tolerated, but established as a natural right. Their doctrine was expressed in the noble sentiment of Edward Burrough, "It is not given of God to any earthly king or ruler whatsoever to exercise lordship over the consciences of people in matters of faith and worship."¹ With these views the Society of Friends accepted the Declaration of Indulgence as a welcome concession, which they attributed to the overruling providence

¹ E. Burrough's Works, London, 1672, 667.

of God, and to him their praises ascended in grateful acknowledgment.

The immediate effect of this measure was to arrest the course of persecution, to secure to Friends the peaceful enjoyment of their meetings, and to prevent the further spoliation of their goods. Upwards of four hundred Friends were then in prison in England and Wales, many of whom had long been separated from their families, and confined in loathsome cells, where health and life were wasting away under the corroding effects of a pestilential atmosphere. In order to obtain the release of these innocent sufferers, Geo. Whitehead addressed a brief petition to the king, and entrusted it for delivery to Thomas Moore, a worthy Friend, who had an interest with the king and council that enabled him to plead availingly for the relief of his oppressed brethren.

The petition being presented, liberty was granted for Friends to be heard before the council; and George Whitehead, Thomas Moore, and Thomas Green were admitted. George Whitehead, addressing himself to the king, assured him that the reason why Friends did not take the oath of allegiance was not for want of respect for his person and government, but simply in obedience to Christ's command, "not to swear at all." The king answered, "I'll pardon them." Thomas Moore then observed, "That they needed no pardon, being innocent, and that the king's warrant in a few lines would discharge them; for where the word of a king is, there is power." The king replied, "O, Mr. Moore, there are persons as innocent as a child new-born, that are pardoned, that is, from the penalties of the law; you need not scruple a pardon." The Lord-keeper added, "I told

them that they cannot be legally discharged, but by a pardon under the great seal." Then the Duke of Lauderdale rose, and thus addressed the king, "May it please your majesty, I wonder that these men should be no better counselled than not to accept your gracious pardon; for if your majesty should, by your own private warrant, release them out of prison, their prosecutors may put them into prison again the next day; and still their estates, forfeited to you upon premunire, remain confiscate, so that their persons and estates cannot be safely discharged without your majesty's pardon under the great seal." This sentiment being corroborated by the rest of the council, Geo. Whitehead answered, "It is not for us to prescribe or dictate to the king and his council what methods to take for our Friends' discharge; you know best your own methods in point of law; we seek the end thereof, namely, the effectual discharge of our suffering Friends out of prison, that they may live peaceably, and may quietly enjoy their own." "Well," said the king, "I'll pardon them."¹

An order was forthwith issued by the king and council, under date the 8th of May, 1672, directed to the sheriffs of the respective counties and cities in England and Wales, requiring them to return to the Lord-keeper of the great seal, perfect lists of all prisoners called Quakers, showing the dates and causes of their commitment. Some months elapsed before the returns could be made, and the requisite warrants passed through all the legal forms usual in such cases. In order to reduce the charges incurred by the friends of the prisoners, the king issued an order,

¹ G. Whitehead's Christ. Progress.

that the "Pardon, though comprehending great numbers of persons, should pass as one pardon, and pay but as one."

When the instrument for the discharge of the prisoners was granted, there being other Dissenters, besides Friends, in some of the prisons, their solicitors came to Geo. Whitehead, desiring that their clients in prison might be included in the same warrant. He advised them to petition the king for that privilege, which they did, and obtained their request. Among those who were thus liberated through the influence of Friends, was the celebrated John Bunyan, author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, who had for twelve years been a prisoner for conscience' sake.

Ellis Hookes, who was employed in engrossing the documents, wrote to Margaret Fell, under date 1st of Eighth month [Tenth month], 1672, as follows, "This is chiefly to acquaint thee, that now our business, which G. W. and myself have taken so much pains and care about this summer, is accomplished, and under the great seal, and two duplicates of the same under the great seal also; the original contains eleven skins of parchment. There were about five hundred names contained in it."¹ Two of these documents were sent by messengers into the neighboring counties; while Geo. Whitehead, Edward Man, and William Gosnall, of London, travelled into counties more remote, in order to effect the liberation of their Friends, which, after much difficulty, was successfully accomplished.²

A respite from persecution being now enjoyed by the Dissenters, some of their ministers, whose flocks

¹ Letters of Early Friends, LXXIII.

² G. Whitehead's C. P. 349 to 366.

were leaving them to join the Society of Friends, came out in more open hostility to its doctrines. Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists in London, wrote a pamphlet, called "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker," in which he misrepresented the principles of Friends, by putting such silly and unsound expressions into the mouth of his pretended Quaker, that they were easily confuted; yet it was written with so much art, as to make the public believe it was the report of a dialogue with a real Friend. In order to counteract the effect of this disingenuous attack, Wm. Penn wrote the first part of his "Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimony Vindicated," in which he treats of "the light of Christ within, the great principle of God in man, the root and spring of divine life and knowledge in the soul, that by which salvation is effected for man, and which is the characteristic of the people called Quakers; their faith and testimony to the world." In this able and excellent work he maintains the universality of divine grace, and its sufficiency for man's salvation, which he proves from the Scriptures, and corroborates by the testimony of many among the Gentiles who were enlightened by it, and who "held and practised high sanctity of life."¹

Hicks, soon after, published a second part of his Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker, and subsequently a third part, all in the same strain of misrepresentation. Penn answered him in two pamphlets, the first entitled "Reason against Railing," the other, "The Counterfeit Christian Detected," in which he exposed the perversions of his antagonist, and explained the principles of his own persuasion.

¹ Penn's Select Works, 223, 237.

Some of the Friends, believing they had been grossly misrepresented by Hicks, appealed to his own congregation to give them an opportunity of clearing their profession of the odium cast upon it. After some opposition and delay, a meeting was appointed to be held in the Baptist meeting-house at Barbican, in London. The debate seems to have attracted much attention, there being, according to William Penn's estimate, six thousand people in attendance.¹ The disputants on the part of the Baptists were Jeremy Ives, William Kiffin, Thomas Hicks, Thomas Plant, and Robert Ferguson; and on the part of Friends, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, and George Keith.²

In that age of religious controversy, it appears to have been usual to reduce the propositions to be debated into syllogisms. Thomas Hicks opened the debate with this argument:

"They that deny the Lord's Christ are no Christians.

"But the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ, therefore they are no Christians."

To which Wm. Penn answered, "I deny the minor, viz: That the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ."

T. Hicks rejoined, "They that deny Christ to be a distinct person without them, deny the Lord's Christ; but the Quakers deny Christ to be a distinct person without them, therefore the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ."

William Penn desired his opponent to explain what he meant by the term *person*, to which he answered, "I mean the man Christ Jesus."

¹ Penn to Fox, in Janney's Life of Penn, 101.

² Sewel, II. 212.

Penn replied, "I deny the minor, viz.: That we deny the man Christ Jesus."

T. Hicks replied, "I prove that ye deny the man Christ Jesus. One of your own writers says, 'That Christ was never seen with carnal eyes, nor heard with carnal ears.'" From which Jeremy Ives deduced a syllogism. "He that denies Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes, denies the Lord's Christ; but the Quakers deny that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes, therefore the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ."

George Keith then said, "I answer by distinguishing. Christ as God was never seen with carnal eyes, but as man he was."

Ives replied, "But he was Christ as he was man; how then was not Christ seen with carnal eyes?"

Keith rejoined, "We are to consider that the terms Jesus Christ are sometimes applied to him as God, and sometimes to him as man, yea, sometimes to the very body of Jesus; but the question is, whether do these names more properly, immediately and originally, belong to him as God, or as he was before he took the manhood upon him, or to the manhood? We affirm those names are given to him most properly and eminently as God, and less properly, yet truly, as man; and least properly to his body, yea, to his dead body." This drew from Ives an expression which produced some disgust among the audience; but William Penn besought them to treat the subject in a manner becoming Christians, and then George Keith proceeded to show that the term was applied to the dead body, from the expression of Mary, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him;" and from that of the

angel, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay." And that he was Jesus Christ before he took flesh, he proved from the saying of the apostle, "Who created all things by Jesus Christ."

Jeremy Ives objected to the declaration, "that Christ cannot be seen with carnal eyes, nor by wicked men;" and Wm. Penn said, in explanation, "I distinguish upon the word *seen*: wicked men might see him in that bodily appearance, and yet not see him to be the Christ of God; they saw his manhood, but not his Christ-ship. This I will prove from Christ's words to Peter, when he confessed him to be the Christ, the Son of the living God, viz.: 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven;' therefore Peter, with a carnal eye, could not have seen the Lord's Christ, much less wicked men. My second proof is from the Apostle's words, 'Whom none of the princes of this world knew, for had they known him they would not have crucified him.'" He further observed, that seeing and knowing, in Scripture, are sometimes equivalent; to which Geo. Keith added the saying of Christ, "'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;' but no wicked man hath seen the Father, therefore no wicked man hath seen Christ, as such." Ives and his companions derided this distinction; but the Friends averred, that all who saw Jesus as the carpenter's son, did not see him as the Christ of God.

Jeremy Ives then asked, "Is the manhood a part of the Lord's Christ?" To which Wm. Penn returned the query, "Is this to prove the charge of our denying the Lord's Christ? It seems we must be here to be catechised, and ye will not answer us one question; yet I shall answer Jeremy Ives's question,

if he will promise to answer mine." Ives promising that he would, Wm. Penn proceeded, "I here declare, that we faithfully believe that holy manhood to be a member of the Christ of God." Then, addressing Ives, he said, "Was he the Christ of God before he was manifest in the flesh?" "He was," answered Ives, "the Son of God." "But," said Penn, "was he the Lord's Christ?" No answer being returned, he proceeded, "I will prove him to have been the Lord's Christ as well before as after: first, from the Apostle Paul's words to the Corinthians, 'That rock was Christ;' next, from Jude, where some Greek copies have it thus, 'That Jesus brought the people of Israel out of Egypt.'" The unwillingness of the Baptist to answer this question directly, was attributed to there being in that communion some who favored Socinian doctrines.¹

Jeremy Ives continued the debate by inquiring, "Do you believe that Christ, in his human nature, is in heaven?" Geo. Whitehead then addressed the audience, saying, "Ye have heard the charge against us, and the distinction that has been made between the spiritual, saving sight of the Lord's Christ, and the seeing of his outward man, person, or body. In this last sense, it could never be intended that he was not visible to the outward eye; but it was the spiritual rock which all Israel drank of, and as he was before Abraham was, and as glorified with the Father before the world began; and as Christ himself said to Philip, 'He that seeth me, seeth my Father also;' and only saints or children of light could truly say, 'We have seen his glory as the only

¹ Sewel, II. 218.

begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.' In all which senses of seeing, the Lord's Christ was only seen spiritually, and not with carnal eyes."

This conclusion was assented to by Ives; but he renewed the question, "Do ye believe or own that Christ is in heaven, with his human nature?" Wm. Penn answered, "We do believe the man Christ Jesus to be glorified in heaven." This answer, not being in the terms of the question, was rejected, as unsatisfactory; and Penn asked, "What difference dost thou make, between the manhood and human nature of Christ?" "None," replied Ives, "if you mean candidly." Penn rejoined, "I do mean and speak candidly: we do believe that holy manhood to be in heavenly glory."¹

Night was now approaching, and the Baptists desired to close the debate. Alleging that the house was overcharged with people, and that the galleries might give way, they adjourned the meeting, without settling the controversy.

In a letter, addressed by Wm. Penn to Geo. Fox, concerning this debate, he says, "The question was, 'If the manhood were a part of Christ?'" . . . "But I feared the word *part*, and chose rather to say that we believed the holy manhood to be a *member* of the Christ of God, and my reasons for so doing were these: First, what needed we to grant more than was asked? Friends only desired to have us grant that the manhood was a part of Christ, in order to overthrow T. Hicks's attempts to prove us no Christians, and that was of so great moment in that solemn and great assembly as tongue cannot utter. Secondly,

¹ Sewel, II. 218.

since we were willing to go no further in our confessions than they asked at our hands, this was my reason for rejecting the word *part* for *member*, to wit: that a body may be taken into members without a breach of union, but not into parts. A member divides not; parts divide. Christ is called the head, that is the most noble member; the church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body. Now, calling these members *divides them not into parts*. Thirdly, I did not say it was *but* a member; and I often repeated that it was of and belonging to Christ; and in my confession at the close I said, that we believed in Christ: both as he was the man Jesus, and God over all, blessed forever. And I am sure that Paul divides him more than we did (Rom. ix. 5), since he makes a distinction between Christ as God and Christ as man." . . . "But, dear George, I confess I never heard any Friend speak so fully as to Christ's manhood, as thyself. I think, so much in print, in our name as a people, would remove much prejudice, and the contest would come more to power against power, than words against words; only we must remember that Christ is said to have been in the wilderness, and to have brought the people out of Egypt. If so, then he was Christ before he was born of the Virgin; and the Apostles say that Christ is God, and that all things were made by him; though doubtless the great and glorious appearance might, by way of eminency, most properly deserve and require that title." . . . "As for those gross terms, *human flesh* and *human blood*, I never spoke or wrote them, since I knew the Lord's truth."¹

¹ See W. P. to G. F. in Janney's *Life of Penn*, 101.

This controversy, as related by Sewel and Penn, affords one of the most thorough expositions of the divinity and manhood of Christ to be found in the writings of the early Friends, and is therefore commended to the reader's especial attention. The Friends affirmed that "these names [Jesus Christ] are given to him most properly and eminently as God, and less properly, yet truly, as man." The word Jesus means a Saviour, and Christ signifies anointed; but God has proclaimed himself the only Saviour;¹ and it is written, "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost."² The Eternal Word that was in the beginning with God and was God, by whom all things were made, was the teacher of the prophets; for "the *Spirit of Christ which was in them*," enabled them to "testify beforehand of the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow."³ He was also with the Israelites in the wilderness; for "they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ."⁴ But the fullest and most glorious manifestation of this Eternal Word was in "the man Christ Jesus," and therefore he is called the Christ, or anointed of God. He "is called the head, that is, the most noble member,—the church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body."

By the "manhood of Christ," is meant the soul; for the soul is properly the man; the body being only "the earthly tabernacle," in which it dwells. "Destroy this temple," said Jesus, "and in three days *I* will raise it up." But he spoke of the temple of his body.⁵ In this prediction he spoke in the name of

¹ Is. xliiii. 11. ² Acts x. 38. ³ 1 Pet. i. 11. ⁴ 1 Cor. i. 4.
⁵ John ii. 19-21.

his Father; for it is written, "He was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father."¹ This "holy manhood," the Friends declared, "they believed to be in heavenly glory."

The Declaration of indulgence, though highly beneficial in its results, was by no means satisfactory to the bigoted adherents of the Established Church. It had remained in force less than two years, when the king was induced by his necessities to yield to the wishes of Parliament by revoking it. The Dissenters having seconded the views of the Church party in opposing the Declaration of Indulgence, the House of Commons became disposed to favor them, and passed a bill for the relief of Protestant non-conformists, but it was opposed by the court and lost in the House of Peers.²

The havoc of persecution was again renewed; informers, priests, and magistrates, combined to put in force the inhuman statutes by which non-conformists were subjected to tedious imprisonments and spoliation of their estates. The Friends, as usual, had to bear the brunt of the storm, because they stood forth openly in the maintenance of their religious testimonies.

Near the close of the year 1673, Geo. Fox, while travelling through Worcestershire, accompanied by his wife, her daughter, and her son-in-law, Thomas Lower, was arrested at a Friend's house by Henry Parker, a justice of the peace, and committed to Worcester jail. At the following sessions he was arraigned before the court, and no ground of accusation being found against him, the oaths of alle-

¹ Rom. vi. 4.

² Hume and Neal.

giance and supremacy were tendered, which he conscientiously declined, and was remanded to prison. At the Quarter Sessions in Second month [April] 1674, he was subjected to a sentence of premunire, and continued in prison. Through the exertions of his friends, a writ of habeas corpus being obtained, he was removed from Worcester jail, and brought before the court of the King's Bench, Sir Matthew Hale presiding.

The trial took place in the Twelfth month, 1674, [February, O. S., 1675,] and resulted in his acquittal after an imprisonment of nearly fourteen months.¹

The result of this trial was attributed to the zeal and ability of Thomas Corbett, an eminent counselor from Wales. He started a new and original plea; to wit, that imprisonment did not follow a premunire, not being mentioned in the statute. This seems to have startled the court, as many long imprisonments had taken place under that law. This plea, however, was not pressed, as there were found to be so many errors in the indictment, that these alone were sufficient to quash it and liberate the prisoner. Counsellor Corbett was highly commended by one of the judges, for the ability he evinced in this case, and there is reason to believe that the action of the courts in relation to the statute of premunire was modified by his cogent reasoning. "That trial," writes Richard Davies, "put an end to all the premunires in the nation."²

Friends continued to suffer imprisonment and spoliation of their property under various penal laws

¹ For the particulars of his arrest, imprisonment, and trial, see Janney's *Life of Fox*.

² *Life of R. Davies*, 191.

against non-conformity; the informers being busy in their base vocation. The old statute of Elizabeth, exacting £20 a month for absence from the parish church, was revived and enforced; while the prosecutions of the priests for tithes, were enormous and unceasing. They often took much more than their pretended dues, and prosecuted Friends in the ecclesiastical courts, causing them to be excommunicated and imprisoned.¹

In order to abate the rigor of persecution by enlightening the public mind, Wm. Penn wrote and published in the year 1675, a treatise on oaths, to which was prefixed a brief address to Parliament, showing the hardships to which Friends were subjected by their conscientious refusal to swear in any case. In the same year he published a work, entitled: "England's present interest considered, with honor to the prince, and safety to the people." In this able and excellent treatise, he shows the rights secured to the people by Magna Charta, and maintains, that so far from a government being weakened or endangered by a variety of religious sentiments, it is, on the contrary, strengthened by them, provided that all be equally tolerated.²

Soon after, he published a brief narrative of the dying expressions of Matthew Hide, under the title of "Saul smitten to the Ground." This man, it appears, had been for nearly twenty years an open opposer of Friends at their religious meetings, manifesting an especial aversion to their distinguishing principle of "the Light within." "His main stroke," writes Wm. Penn, "was against the doctrine of Christ, the true Light, enlighten-

¹ Besse and Gough.

² For a synopsis of this work, see Janney's *Life of Penn*, 113.

ing every man that comes into the world, with a divine and saving light.”—“The sufficiency and universality of this to salvation, he constantly and resolutely withstood; not furiously, madly, and frothily, like outrageous mockers, as some still too evidently and frequently show themselves against us; but with great external sobriety and gravity, as well as zeal; reasoning after his manner, and not bawling against us.” “Nor was his conversation scandalous, but honest and exemplary in worldly things towards men, for aught that I ever heard upon inquiry.”

Sensible of his approaching end, he was smitten with remorse, and desired to see some of the Friends. Wm. Penn, Geo. Whitehead, and some others, being called, he said to them, “As Paul was a persecutor of the people of the Lord, so have I been a persecutor of you, his people.”

G. Whitehead.—When darkness was over thee, thou hast gainsayed the truth and people of the Lord; and I knew that the *Light* which thou opposedst, would rise up in judgment against thee. I have often, with others, labored with thee, to bring thee to a right understanding.

M. Hide.—This I declare in the presence of God, and of you here, I have done evil in persecuting you, who are the children of God, and I am sorry for it. The Lord Jesus Christ show mercy unto me, and the Lord increase your numbers, and be with you!

G. Whitehead.—I would have thee, if thou art able to speak, to ease thy conscience as fully as thou canst. My soul is affected to hear thee confess thy evil, as the Lord hath given thee a sense of it. In repentance there is mercy and forgiveness; in confessing and forsaking sin, there is mercy to be found with the Lord;

who in the midst of judgment remembers mercy, that he may be feared.

M. Hide. — I have done evil in opposing you in your *prayers*. The Lord be merciful unto me. And as I have been an instrument to turn many *from* God, the Lord raise up many instruments to turn many *to* him."

G. Whitehead. — I desire thou mayst find mercy and forgiveness at the hand of the Lord. How is it with thy soul? Dost thou find some ease?

M. Hide. — I hope I do; and if the Lord should lengthen my days, I should be willing to bear a testimony *for* you, as publicly as I have appeared against you."

He desired that his confession might be communicated to others, and having, through penitence and prayer obtained relief, he quietly expired.¹

In cases like that which has just been related, we can rejoice in the belief that divine mercy was extended at the eleventh hour, to the penitent transgressor; but still more interesting and cheering is the triumphant close of the departing Christian, who, having fought the good fight, and kept the faith, feels assured that he goes to receive a crown of eternal glory. Of this class was William Bayly, whose conviction, services and sufferings, have already been noticed.² For the maintenance of his family, he engaged in a maritime employment, and was master of a ship. In his voyages to distant countries, he was diligent in the promotion of righteousness whenever an opportunity was afforded; "and many beyond the seas were partakers of his labors, and conformed by his ministry."³ In returning from a visit to Friends in Bar-

¹ Penn's Select Works, 402.

² Vol. I. 191 to 195.

³ Piety Promoted, and Gough.

badoes, being taken sick at sea, and believing his end was near, he desired to be remembered to his dear wife and little children, saying, "I have left them no portion, but my endeavor has been, to make God their Father. Well, shall I lay down my head in peace upon the waters? God is the God of the whole universe, and though my body sink, I shall swim atop of the waters." He desired John Clark, the master of the vessel, to remember his dear love to Geo. Fox, Alexander Parker, Geo. Whitehead, and Friends in general; and being filled with joy, he began to sing, saying, "The creative word of the Lord endureth forever." He took some who sat near him by the hand, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and not to fear death. "Death," he said, "is nothing in itself; for the sting of death is sin. Tell the Friends in London, that would have been glad to see my face, I go to my Father and their Father, to my God and their God. Remember my love to my dear wife; she will be a sorrowful widow; but let her not mourn too much, for it is well with me." He desired that his love might be remembered to Friends in New England and Barbadoes; then taking leave of those around him, he said, "I see not one of you, but I wish you all well." Thus rejoicing in the assurance of divine favor, he departed in perfect peace, on the 1st of the Fourth month, 1675.

His widow, whose maiden name was Mary Fisher, has been more than once mentioned in this work.¹ She has left an affectionate testimony concerning her husband, expressive of her high appreciation of his

¹ See her visit to Boston, Vol. I. p. 342, and to Turkey, p. 452.

virtues, and her full assurance that his soul was at rest with God.¹

John Crook, in a preface to Wm. Bayly's works, speaks of him as a minister highly endowed with spiritual gifts, and "mighty in the scriptures, being well acquainted both with the history and mystery thereof, through the assistance of that spirit which gave him a true understanding in both; making them sometimes in his hand as a battle-axe in the hand of a warrior to cut down the opposers of his testimony; and sometimes as balm, which he had ready to apply to the wounds of those who were truly pricked to the heart by the word of life." "Methinks I see," he continues, "how once I saw him stand at the bar to plead his innocent cause, like holy Stephen in the senate-house, when the threats of his persecutors resembled the showers of stones falling upon that blessed martyr, crying out with a hideous noise, 'Take him away, jailer,' 'Receive him, dungeon,' 'Stop his mouth, executioner.' Yet all this while he changed not his countenance, except by the additional ornaments of some innocent smiles; but followed the example of our Lord, who set his face as a flint against all opposition to the blessed testimony his Father had given him to bear."

William Brend, whose services and sufferings in New England have already been related,² died in London on the 7th of the Seventh month, 1676, having attained to the age of nearly ninety years. It is believed that he was among the earliest converts to the principles of Friends in the city of London, at which time he must have been about sixty-eight years

¹ W. Bayly's Works, 400.

² Vol. I. 349, 368, 372, 386.

of age. Although he was called to the gospel ministry in the evening of his day, he labored diligently in his holy vocation, both in England and America. He was, with hundreds of his brethren, imprisoned in Newgate in 1662, and was one of those sentenced to transportation on account of their religious testimony; but the sentence, in his case, was not carried into effect, probably because of the unwillingness manifested by masters of vessels to engage in that nefarious business. At the yearly meeting of London in 1672, it appears by the records that William Brend was present and assisted in the preparation of an epistle then issued.¹ From this we may conclude that in extreme old age his lamp still burned brightly, being supplied with the oil of the heavenly kingdom.

George Fox, after his trial and acquittal in London in 1675, went to his home at Swarthmore Hall, where he remained a year and nine months, in order to recruit his impaired health. This appears to have been the first season of repose he had allowed himself for a period of more than thirty years; but while enjoying with his wife and family the comforts of home, he did not suffer the time to pass unimproved, for in addition to the regular attendance of meetings, and frequent interviews with Friends, who sought his counsel, he wrote much for publication concerning the doctrines and discipline of the church.

It was during this interval that he received a visit from John Banks, whose account of a remarkable cure then effected is here subjoined.

“About this time a pain struck into my shoulder,

¹ Bowden, I. 133.

and gradually fell down into my arm and hand, so that I was wholly deprived of the use of it; the pain increased both day and night. For three months I could neither put my clothes on nor off, and my arm and hand began to wither, so that I applied to some physicians, but could get no cure by any of them. At last, as I was asleep upon my bed, in the night-time, I saw in a vision, that I was with dear George Fox. I thought I said to him, 'George, my faith is such, that if thou seest the way to lay thy hand upon my shoulder, my arm and hand shall be whole throughout.' This remained with me two days and nights, that the thing was a true vision, and that I must go to Geo. Fox; until at last, through much exercise of mind, as a great trial of my faith, I was made willing to go to him, he being then at Swarthmore, in Lancashire, where there was a meeting of Friends on the first day of the week. Some time after the meeting, I called him aside into the hall, and gave him a relation of my dream, showing him my arm and hand; and in a little time, we walking together silently, he turned about and looked upon me, and lifting up his hand lay it upon my shoulder, saying, 'The Lord strengthen thee, both within and without.' I went to Thomas Lower's, of Marsh-Grange, that night; and when I was sat down to supper, immediately, before I was aware, my hand was lifted up to do its office, which it could not do for long before. This struck me with great admiration, and my heart was broken into tenderness before the Lord; and the next day I went home, with my hand and arm restored to its former use and strength without any pain. The next time that Geo. Fox and I met, he said, 'John, thou mended;' I answered,

‘Yes, very well in a little time.’ ‘Well,’ said he, ‘give God the glory;’ to whom I was, and still am bound in duty so to do, for that and all other his mercies and favors. He hath all power in his own hand, and can thereby bring to pass whatsoever seems good in his eyes; who by the same prepares instruments, and makes use of them as pleaseth him who is alone worthy of all praise, honor, and glory, both now and forevermore. Amen.”

This is one of the best-attested cases of miraculous healing to be found on record; for the truthfulness of the narrator is placed beyond all doubt by the evidence of many cotemporary witnesses, as may be seen in testimonies prefixed to his Journal.

Wm. Penn writes, that he had known John Banks forty-four years, and that “he was a heavenly minister of experimental religion, of a sound judgment and pious practice, valiant for truth upon the earth, and ready to serve all in the love and peace of the gospel.”

Geo. Fox does not allude, in his Journal, to this case of healing, but he mentions some other cases, two of which, in particular, are not less remarkable.¹ In answer to a query addressed to him in Carolina, concerning a similar case of healing, he said, “We do not glory in such things, but many such things have been done by the power of Christ.”

In the Life of Wm. Dewsbury, published by the late John Barclay, it is observed by the editor, that neither Geo. Fox, “his companions, nor their successors in belief, have ever laid great stress on such occurrences, however true, and have avoided insist-

¹ Works of G. F., Vol. I. 173, and II. 257; and Janney's Life of G. Fox, 116.

ing on them as proofs of their ministry. And although Friends in the early times did, with George Fox and William Dewsbury, as the reader will find, when he arrives at the closing scene,¹ acknowledge such instances of the marvellous extension of divine regard, to be consistent with Scripture and sound reason, they concluded it to be proper, in these latter ages of the church, to receive them simply as collateral assurances that the Lord's power is the same in one day as another, rather than as essential evidences, or as requisite fruits of true faith."²

William Dewsbury, whose imprisonment of eight years in Warwick jail has been mentioned in a preceding chapter, obtained his release in the year 1672. In the following year he went to Bristol, and thence to the north of England, travelling through several counties; being concerned, he said, "while the door was open," to labor in his Master's service. He was not permitted long to remain at liberty, for in the year 1678, during the excitement produced by the pretended Popish plot, he was arrested under the charge of being a Jesuit, and once more committed to prison in his old quarters at Warwick.³ Titus Oates, who was the instigator of the alarm then prevailing, gave a certificate to clear him and other Friends of the odious charges brought against them; but it was unavailing, for William Dewsbury was detained a prisoner at least six years, making, with his

¹ See dying expressions of W. Dewsbury, in this volume.

² Life of W. Dewsbury, Fds. Lib. II. 253, and Whiting's Memoirs.

³ For an account of Titus Oates' plot, see Janney's Life of Penn, 141.

other imprisonments in the same place, about nineteen years that he suffered for the testimony of Jesus.

At this time, the magistrates and people of England being greatly alarmed at the prospect of Papal encroachments, which the king and the Duke of York were supposed to favor, began to enforce, with increased rigor, the laws against non-conformity. These laws, originally intended to operate on the Catholics, fell with excessive severity upon Friends, many of whom were now harassed with persecutions in the Exchequer on penalties of twenty pounds a month, or two-thirds of their estates, for absence from the services of the national church.

Other Dissenters suffered, though not so severely, under the same laws; and the Parliament took the subject under consideration, with a view to afford them some relief. For this purpose, it was proposed to insert in the bill against Popery such a distinguishing clause as that they who would take the oath and subscribe the declaration therein expressed, should not suffer by those laws. As such a clause would afford no relief to the society of Friends, Wm. Penn, on their behalf, presented petitions to both Houses of Parliament, stating that they were conscientiously scrupulous against taking oaths, and praying that a provision should be made for taking their word instead of an oath, subjecting them also, if found guilty of falsehood, to the same penalties as were inflicted on others for perjury. Being admitted to a hearing before a committee of Parliament, he vindicated himself and the society from the charge so often made against them, that they were Roman Catholics in disguise; and, alluding to their severe and protracted sufferings under the laws made against

Papists, he said, "All laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform, but to destroy us; and this not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration. But mark: I would not be mistaken. I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, that Papists should be whipped for their consciences. No: for though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room, for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have good-will to all men, and would have none to suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand."

These noble sentiments in favor of universal toleration were heard with marked attention; but there were few besides Friends, at that day, in England, who would have dared to avow them; for so great was the hostility against the Catholics, both among Churchmen and Protestant Dissenters, that nearly all maintained the necessity of severe penal laws against them.

Wm. Penn being admitted to a second hearing before the committee, made on behalf of Friends the following declaration: "First, that we believe government to be God's ordinance; and next, that this present government is established by the providence

of God and the laws of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in all its just laws; and wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases, not to revile or conspire against the government, but with Christian humility and patience, tire out all mistakes about us, and wait the better information of those, who we believe do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any government can be easier from the subjects of it.”¹

The House of Commons being convinced that the unwillingness of Friends to take the oath arose from religious scruples, agreed to insert a clause in the bill for their relief; but after it had passed the Commons, and gone to the House of Lords, it was lost by a sudden prorogation of Parliament. The consequence was, that greedy informers still continued to harass their inoffensive neighbors, magistrates and judges lent their aid, and hundreds of Friends in various parts of the kingdom were despoiled of their goods, subjected to personal violence, and immured for long periods in noisome prisons that endangered their lives. Two years subsequent to this date, there was printed and presented to Parliament, a brief relation of the sufferings of Friends since the king's restoration, showing how many had died in prison “for the exercise of their faith and conscience in matters spiritual.” The number was computed to be two hundred and forty-three persons whose lives had thus been sacrificed, many of whom had been so grievously beaten, that they died of their wounds. The whole number

¹ Janney's Life of Penn, 138, 140.

of Friends imprisoned during that period of twenty years, amounted to about ten thousand.¹

In Wm. Penn's admirable work called "An Address to Protestants," he thus describes the persecutions suffered by Friends: "Thousands have been excommunicated and imprisoned, whole families undone, not a bed left in the house nor a cow left in the field, nor any corn in the barn; widows and orphans stripped without pity, no regard being had to age or sex. And what for? Only because of their meeting to worship God after another manner than according to the form of the Church of England; but yet in a very peaceable way." . . . "And though we are yet undressed, not a session of Parliament has passed these seventeen years in which we have not humbly remonstrated our suffering condition."²

Among those who about this date were released by death from the trials of time, the following names may be registered as valiant soldiers in the Lamb's warfare.

Christopher Bacon, of Somersetshire, was born about the year 1622, and during the civil wars, was a soldier in the king's army. In the year 1656, he attended a Friends' meeting, not with a view to receive any good, but rather to scoff and deride. He was, however, through divine mercy, awakened to a sense of his condition, and "received the blessed truth in the love of it." For refusing the oath of abjuration, he was imprisoned at Ivelchester, and detained several years, during which time a dispensation of the gospel was committed to him, and after his enlargement, he became a diligent laborer in the work of the

¹ J. Whiting's Memoirs, 33, 34.

² Penn's Select Works.

ministry. He travelled in the service of his Divine Master in England, Wales, and Ireland, and through the blessing of the Lord on his labors, was instrumental in turning many to righteousness. He was afterwards imprisoned several times for his religious testimony. His last imprisonment was in 1678, at Bridgewater, where he suffered much from cold, and being taken extremely ill, he was permitted to go home. He afterwards gained sufficient strength to travel into Cornwall, where he attended some meetings; but he never recovered from the effects of his imprisonment at Bridgewater. At Falmouth he was taken sick, and being sensible that the close of his life was near, he said, "Since it is my lot after many great labors and travels for the service of truth, to come here and lay down my body, I am well satisfied in God's will and pleasure, and am at this time free and clear in my mind, willing to be with God." After a pause, he said, "Oh, Friends! keep in mind your latter end, and that will make you draw nigh to the Lord, and seek after him." He continued in a sweet frame of mind, and breathed his last in quietness and peace the 29th of the Tenth month (December), 1678.

Isaac Pennington has been mentioned in the preceding pages as a deeply exercised and valuable member of the society; widely known as a minister, and an author of religious works.¹

He dwelt at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, and kept meetings in his house, about the year 1660; but after the restoration, his estate was confiscated, on account of his father having been concerned in the condemnation of Charles I. He was afterwards mostly dependent upon the ample income of his wife, the

¹ Vol. I. 322, 326.

widow of Sir William Springett. After the loss of his estate, he dwelt at Amersham, and subsequently at Woodside, in Buckinghamshire.¹

He suffered many years' imprisonment on account of his religious testimony, manifesting throughout a remarkable example of meekness and patience. His first imprisonment was in 1661 and 1662, at Aylesbury jail, being committed for worshipping God in his own house. During seventeen weeks, he was kept in a cold, incommodious room, without a chimney, which greatly impaired his health. His second imprisonment was in 1664, in the same place, being taken from a religious meeting, and detained more than seventeen weeks. His third imprisonment was at Aylesbury, in 1665, being arrested with many others, in the public street at Amersham, while accompanying the body of a deceased Friend to the grave. His commitment, being in order to banishment, was but for a month.

His fourth imprisonment was in the same year, being committed by Sir Philip Palmer, to be kept in Aylesbury jail "during the pleasure of the Earl of Bridgewater." In this instance, without any apparent cause, he was arrested by a rude soldier who had no other warrant than his sword, and his imprisonment seems to have been intended to gratify the groundless animosity of a haughty peer. One of the prisoners in Aylesbury jail, dying with the plague, induced the jailer's wife, in the absence of her husband, to permit the removal of Isaac Pennington to another house, and through the influence of the Earl of Ancram, he was released, after nine months' detention. He had been at home but about three weeks, when a party

¹ J. Whiting's Memoirs, 24.

of soldiers, sent by Sir Philip Palmer, by order of the Earl of Bridgewater (as was reported), came to his house, and seizing him in his bed, carried him back to Aylesbury jail. There he lay a year and a half, in a room so cold, damp, and unhealthy, that it brought on a disease which endangered his life. At length, a relative of his wife had him removed by a writ of habeas corpus to the court of the king's bench, when he was released in the year 1668, and surprise was expressed by the court, that a man should be so long imprisoned for nothing.

His sixth imprisonment was in the year 1670, in Reading jail, whither he went to visit his friends confined there. A persecuting justice, called Sir William Armorer, hearing of his visit, sent for him and committed him forthwith to the same prison, where he remained a year and three quarters, and was brought under sentence of premunire.¹ He was probably one among the many hundreds released by the king's pardon in 1672.

In the year 1679, going with his wife to visit her estates in the county of Kent, he was taken ill and died there, the 8th of the Eighth month, in the 63d year of his age.

It may truly be said of Isaac Pennington, that he was one of those who "came out of great tribulation, having washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." With the exception of Geo. Fox, there was perhaps no one among the early Friends who stood higher than he, in the love and veneration of the Society, as may be seen in the numerous testimonies prefixed to his valuable works.

"He was," says Ellwood, "naturally furnished with

¹ T. Ellwood's Testimony.

a sharp and excellent wit, and that well cultivated and polished with an ingenious and liberal education; his disposition was courteous and affable, free from pride and affectation; his ordinary discourse cheerful and pleasant, neither morose, nor light, but innocently sweet, and tempered with such a serious gravity, as rendered his converse both delightful and profitable."

Geo. Fox writes of him as "a serviceable minister of the gospel of salvation, which did spring through him often to the refreshing and comforting of the church of Christ, and to his own comfort, and to the praise and glory of the Lord God."

Wm. Penn bears testimony to his pure and exalted character, which increased in brightness as age advanced, and "like a replenished lamp, shined with greater lustre;" for "he died as he lived, in the faith that overcomes the world."¹

Giles Barnardiston has already been mentioned as one who sacrificed the advantages of birth and wealth, in order to join in religious fellowship with a people then despised and persecuted.² After his removal to Clare in Suffolk, in the year 1669, he was earnestly desirous that the Lord would raise up a people in that place, and his prayers were answered, for he was made instrumental to turn many from darkness to light. He travelled as a minister of the gospel in many parts of England, as also in Holland. Being taken with severe sickness on his return from London to Chelmsford, he bore testimony to the goodness of God, saying, that "the Lord was his portion, and that he was

¹ Testimonies prefixed to Pennington's Works.

² See Chapter II. of this Volume.

freely given up to die, which was gain to him." He departed in peace, the 11th of the Eleventh month, 1680, about the 56th year of his age.¹

CHAPTER XIII.

SEPARATION OF WILKINSON AND STORY.

1675-80.

AMONG the many trials to which Friends were, at this time, subjected, not the least were those arising from a division in their own ranks, that in some places led to a separation. The most prominent leaders in this schism were John Wilkinson and John Story, ministers in the Society, who resided in the north of England. They objected to the order of church government which Friends had adopted at the recommendation of Geo. Fox, and more especially were they opposed to women's meetings for discipline. The advices issued by Geo. Fox and other faithful ministers were stigmatized by these separatists as the prescriptions of men; and they asserted that every man had within him a measure of divine light, sufficient to guide and govern him, without any rules of church discipline.

In order to effect a reconciliation, a meeting was appointed at Draw-Well, in Sedburg parish, Yorkshire, at the house of John Blaykling.² Wilkinson

¹ J. Whiting's Memoirs, 55. Piety Promoted, I. 83.

² Collectitia, York, 1824, Vol. I. 45.

and Story, with some of their adherents, being present, inquired of the Friends whether they had any charges in writing against them. They replied that no formal charges had been prepared, the object of the meeting being to discuss, in an amicable manner, the points of disagreement, in order to reconcile differences, and restore unity of feeling. Wilkinson and Story declined to enter into any discussion of the matter, unless the charges against them were committed to writing; and consequently the meeting was obliged to adjourn, without effecting the object intended. At the next Quarterly meeting, held in Kendal, another conference was appointed to be held at Pow-Bank, in Westmoreland, on the 24th of the Fifth month, 1675, which John Wilkinson and John Story were requested to attend. At the time appointed, the meeting was held, and attended not only by Friends of that Quarterly meeting, but by a number of experienced members from the adjacent counties. In this instance, Wilkinson and Story refused to attend, although informed that the charges against them were produced in writing, as follows, viz.:

“First. That John Wilkinson and John Story had opposed our Monthly and Quarterly meetings, with reflecting words against them, calling them courts and sessions, and of our citing into them, and the like.

“Secondly. That they had discouraged Friends’ testimonies against tithes, with reflecting, opposite, loose words.

“Thirdly. That they had opposed, reflected upon, and greatly discouraged women’s meetings.

“Fourthly. That they had opposed recording con-

demnations upon scandalous, loose practices in such as opposed the Truth.

"Fifthly. That they had discouraged and weakened Friends in their stability in the time of persecution, and had justified leaving their houses, and going into private places, in the time thereof, to keep their meetings.

"Sixthly. That they had disorderly and irreverently judged Friends' tender exercises, in breaking forth in melodious singings and soundings to God's praise in their meetings, under the exercise of the power which breaks and fills the heart, out of the abundance whereof break forth sighs, and groans, and spiritual songs, as the Lord is pleased to exercise them that wait upon him."

These charges being read, the meeting was adjourned to the next day; and in the meantime some of the Friends waited upon Wilkinson and Story, entreating them to attend and make their defence; but they still refused. A paper was issued, signed on behalf of the meeting by John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Richard Robinson, and John Grove, in which they state that the charges had been "evidenced before them by many witnesses," and they desire "that all may keep in the power of the Lord God, who will preserve in the unity of the spirit, and bond of peace, where the body will edify itself in love, that there may be always a building up in the most holy faith."¹

This paper was not intended as a testimony of disownment, for it was the practice of the early Friends, by long forbearance and patient labor in the spirit of meekness and love, to endeavor to restore those who

¹ "Anti-Christian Treachery Discovered, and its Way Blocked Up," by John Blaykling and others, London, 1686.

had left the path of peace. They did not proceed to disownment until all hope of reconciliation was lost.

Wilkinson and Story, with their adherents, set up a separate meeting, "to be kept when they saw meet, or as occasion offered;" and they succeeded in enlisting into their ranks a number of sincere-hearted Friends, who believed they were espousing the cause of religious liberty.

At a Meeting for Sufferings held in London, in the Eighth month, 1675, the separation caused by Wilkinson and Story being taken into consideration, George Whitehead, John Whitehead, William Gibson, and Alexander Parker, with two others to be chosen by Friends in Bristol, were appointed a committee to go to Westmoreland, "for the assisting of the church and Friends there to hear and determine the said difference."

It is worthy of remark, that two Friends were to be chosen from Bristol, on account of the strong interest Wilkinson and Story were supposed to have in that meeting.

In pursuance of this appointment, a meeting was held at Draw-Well, in Yorkshire, near the border of Westmoreland, in the Second month, 1676, and attended by the committee, with a number of other eminent Friends, among whom were William Penn, John Banks, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, and Thomas Taylor. Wilkinson and Story were in attendance, with some of their adherents, among whom William Rodgers, a merchant of Bristol, was the most active.

The meeting continued four days, and sat ten or twelve hours each day. The Lord's power was eminently manifested, many living testimonies were

borne against the spirit of separation, and fervent supplications were offered up to the Father of Spirits for a prosperous issue. John Wilkinson and John Story being in some measure wrought upon by the power of divine truth, acknowledged that, "in the hour of temptation, they had given cause of offence to the church of God," and expressed their regret.

An epistle was drawn up and signed by twenty-three Friends, most of whom were ministers eminent for their services and religious experience. In this paper they state that the matters in controversy being read and the witnesses of both parties called, they found that John Story and John Wilkinson were really to blame in the most material things exhibited against them. They had, however, manifested some degree of submission, and produced a paper of condemnation against themselves, which led the committee to believe that the door of mercy was not shut against the delinquents, who, it was hoped, would hereafter give more complete satisfaction. In the conclusion of this excellent epistle Friends are advised to suppress all papers of controversy relating to the separation, that the difference may no longer be kept alive; "but that all may sink down into the simple truth, and in that feel the pure and sweet union which, being lived in, preserves out of all those doubts, distrusting, jealousies, carnal reasonings, and evil watchings, that harm the immortal soul."¹

John Wilkinson and John Story, while under the influence of the good impressions produced by the labor of Friends, went to Swarthmore to visit George

¹ This epistle was probably written by Wm. Penn, whose name is last among the signatures. See *Anti-Christian Treachery Discovered*, 58.

Fox, whose concern in the establishment of meetings for discipline had subjected him to their unsparing reproaches. He manifested his Christian spirit in treating them with much kindness, pointed out the danger they were in if they did not return into unity with the body, and advised them to lay down their separate meetings.

It subsequently appeared that they were not sufficiently humble to retrace their steps; their separate meetings were continued, and although many of their party came back into unity with Friends, the leaders remained unreconciled.

At the Yearly meeting of London, held in the spring of 1676, the separation claimed the serious attention of Friends, and an affectionate epistle was addressed to John Story and John Wilkinson, beseeching them to return into unity with their brethren. At the succeeding Yearly meeting the subject was again considered, and an epistle to Friends was issued, signed by fifty-nine ministers and other prominent members of the Society, testifying against that "jealous, murmuring, dividing spirit," by which Wilkinson and Story with some of their adherents were actuated. In relation to the charges made against George Fox and his friends that they designed to make themselves lords over God's heritage, and to set up an arbitrary power in the church of Christ, they reply, "We deny and abhor any such thing, for we have our Lord, Judge, King, and Lawgiver in the church, and that is Christ Jesus, unto whose light, power, and spirit we have been turned, and in that have worshipped him and had fellowship together to this very day, and are your servants for his sake; and we are assured in the Lord that they that

keep in the light, life, and power of Jesus will have fellowship with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father and the Son; and it is far from us to bruise or hurt the poorest or least member of the church of Christ, who may not have that clearness of sight and strength of faith which the Lord hath brought us to; but that they may be cherished."

In the year 1677 a meeting for conference, in order to promote a reconciliation, was held at Bristol, attended on the part of Friends by George Fox, George Whitehead, William Penn, and other prominent members, and on the part of the Separatists by Thomas Gouldney, William Ford, Edward Martindale, and William Rodgers. In this conference William Rodgers took a very active part, being "a man of ready wit and free utterance." His accusations against George Fox were disproved, and the action of the Society was vindicated by the able ministers in attendance; but Rodgers and some others of that party, as well as Wilkinson and Story, remained unreconciled.

In the same year George Fox, while travelling in Buckinghamshire and attending meetings, found some of those "who had gone out from the unity of Friends" very troublesome, particularly at a meeting for discipline.¹ He admonished them to be quiet and not interrupt the service of the meeting; for if they were dissatisfied with Friends' proceedings, a meeting should be appointed on another day expressly to hear them. This was agreed to, and Friends met them accordingly at Thomas Ellwood's, where a meet-

¹ See Life of Jos. Pike, Writings of J. Burnyeat, Gough's Hist., Sewel, J. Blaykling's Anti-Christian Treachery Discovered, and G. Fox's Journal.

ing was held in the barn, there being too many to be accommodated in the house. "Most of their arrows," observes George Fox, "were shot at me; but the Lord was with me and gave me strength in his power to cast back their darts of envy and falsehood upon themselves." It proved to be a serviceable meeting, in which that disorganizing spirit was rebuked, the weak were strengthened, the wavering confirmed, and the minds of faithful Friends refreshed with a renewed evidence of heavenly love.

The separate meetings that had been set up dwindled away, many of the honest-hearted who had joined them returned into unity with the body, and after some years the schism ceased to exist; but it does not appear that Wilkinson and Story, or their adherent, Wm. Rodgers, were ever reconciled or reunited to the Society.

At one of the meetings or conferences held on account of this schism, a remarkable testimony was delivered by John Steel, a countryman but little known in the Society. While following his plough he was led by a sense of duty to leave his home, not knowing the service required of him; and after travelling some distance he heard of the meeting which he was drawn to attend. Being introduced into a state of deep religious exercise, he rose and said, "The Lord our God with whom the treasures of wisdom are hid, in an acceptable time in this our day and generation, has given his gifts unto his children for the gathering of people out of the world. If any be unfaithful in the gift, He that gave it will take it away; then nothing remains but the words which were learned of the Lord while they had the gift; and with these words they will war against the truth,

and against them who have the gospel order; for they are now bringing up new things which were not in the beginning, having the smooth words which man cannot see, but as their fruits make them manifest and an inward eye is opened." "But the power of the Lord is to pass over, and by it that is to be destroyed, and one power, one people, and spirit is to be known if ever God's salvation is to be known. By that one power of the one God, all are made sensible members of that body of which Christ Jesus is the head. But in process of time, through the subtlety of the devil, some of these members have been benumbed and lost the sense of feeling. And now several sensible members, of which Christ is the head, have endeavored, time after time, together with the help of the Head, to seek to recover the benumbed members, but no recovery could be made. What shall be done to these members? Shall they be cut off? Nay, the counsel of God is not so in my heart. But let them be as near the body as may be, that if it may be, they may again receive virtue from the head and come again to the sense of feeling. They were seeing members, and did work for God when they did see; but becoming numb they are also blind, and it is unto them as a continual night; and being in blindness they would be working for God; being used to go abroad when they were sensible, so they would be going abroad when they are blind. But what shall be done to these members? Let them be bound; but if it please God, while they have a being in these tabernacles, let them be loosed; if not let them be bound forever. This is the judgment of God upon you, John Wilkinson and John Story; if it be not just and equal, reject it if you can." To this they were silent.

The foregoing testimony came with such powerful weight and authority that it is said William Penn remarked to Robert Barclay to this purport: "This is neither the wisdom of the North, nor the eloquence of the South, but the power of God through a ploughman, and marvellous in our eyes."¹

This testimony was probably delivered in the meeting held at Draw-well, in 1676, when Wilkinson and Story made a partial acknowledgment of their errors. While they continued at variance with the society, they were enjoined not to "offer their gifts until they were reconciled to their brethren," that is to say, they were to abstain from preaching; and this was doubtless the meaning of John Steel's advice, that the benumbed members, though kept near the body, should be bound.

Those who were concerned in this separation published a number of books and pamphlets, defending their proceedings, and censuring the course pursued by the society. These were answered by Geo. Whitehead, Thomas Ellwood, John Blaykling, and others; vindicating the course of the society in establishing its discipline and dealing with offenders. The principles of Church government were also illustrated and defended by Robert Barclay and William Penn, whose lucid writings on this subject may still be consulted with advantage.

One of the charges against Wilkinson and Story brings to light a very singular phase in the worship of the early Friends, that has hitherto received but little attention from historical inquirers. It appears that in Friends' meetings they sometimes broke forth

¹ Life of Jos. Pike, Friends' Lib., II. 365.

in "melodious singings and soundings under the exercise of the power which breaks and fills the heart, out of the abundance whereof breaks forth sighs and groans and spiritual songs, as the Lord is pleased to exercise them that wait upon him." It is said of John Story that he "had judged the power of God, as it broke forth in hymns and spiritual songs."¹

A remarkable instance of this spontaneous outburst of feeling is mentioned in the Journal of Geo. Fox. During his visit to Ireland, in the year 1669, his ministry was remarkably blessed with the evidence of divine power, and he wrote: "Oh, the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! so that, in the power and spirit of the Lord, many together have broken out in singing, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts."²

There is every reason to believe that these spiritual songs were prompted by devotional feelings, without previous concert on the part of those who were engaged in them; and it is questionable, whether they were inarticulate sounds, or metrical hymns supplied from memory. We know that most of the Friends of that day had been educated in churches that used vocal music in their devotions, and we may therefore conclude that they had in their earlier days committed hymns to memory. Geo. Fox relates, in his Journal, that, during his imprisonment at Carlisle, he "was moved to sing in the Lord's power," while beaten by a cruel jailer.

The testimony of Friends in relation to singing,

¹ Anti-Christian Treachery Discovered, 87.

² Journal, II. 89, Am. edition, 1831.

as a part of divine worship, is thus expressed by Barclay: — “As to the singing of Psalms, there will not be need of any long discourse; for that the case is just the same as in the two former of preaching and prayer. We confess this to be a *part of God’s worship*, and very sweet and refreshful, when it proceeds from a true sense of God’s love in the heart, and arises from the divine influence of the spirit; which leads souls to breathe forth, either a sweet harmony, or *words suitable to the present condition*, whether they be words formerly used by the saints and recorded in Scripture, such as the Psalms of David, or other words, as were the hymns and songs of Zacharias, Simeon, and the blessed virgin, Mary. But, as for the formal, customary way of singing, it hath in Scripture no foundation, nor any ground in true Christianity; yea, besides all the abuses incident to prayer and preaching, it hath this more peculiar, that oftentimes great and horrid lies are said in the sight of God: for all manner of wicked, profane people take upon them to personate the experiences and conditions of blessed David, which are not only false, as to them, but also as to some of more sobriety who utter them forth. As when they will sing sometimes, Psalm xxii. 14, ‘My heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels.’”¹

These arguments, it will be observed, apply only to the abuse of psalmody, and not to devotional singing, when it expresses the real condition and springs from the devout aspirations of the soul.²

¹ Barclay’s Works, London, 1692, 473.

² Apology, Prop. XI. § XXVI.

CHAPTER XIV.

IRELAND.

1670-92.

IN the year 1670, John Banks, of Pardshaw, in Cumberland, made his first visit to Ireland, and within the succeeding twelve years, he visited that nation six times in the service of the gospel. On his second visit in 1671, after attending the Half Year's Meeting at Dublin, he proceeded to Wicklow, where no meeting of Friends had hitherto been kept. Accompanied by two Friends, he went to an inn and gave notice that he intended to hold a meeting for divine worship on the morrow, being the First-day of the week. The report being spread that an English Quaker was come to preach there, a great commotion was stirred up among the people through the misrepresentations of a priest.

A friendly man, who was a carpenter, agreed to grant the Friends the use of his workshop to hold their meeting; but in the morning when they were about to leave the inn, the landlady said to them, "For God's sake go not along the street, for there is a guard of musketeers waiting at the Cross to take you. I will show you a back way." John Banks replied, "I accept thy love, but I must not go any private way, but along the town street, for I have a testimony to bear for the Lord, in love to the souls of

the people." Soon after the Friends had taken their seats in the meeting, and before they had uttered a word, a sergeant, armed with a halbert, and followed by a guard of musketeers, came forward and summoned John Banks to go with him before the governor. He accordingly went, and found there the priest and his wife, with a number of other persons in attendance. When John Banks entered, the priest said to the governor, "Sir, this is the deceiver, this is the deluder that has come from England to delude people here; I hope you will do justice, and execute the laws."

The governor being moderate, said nothing for some time, which afforded John Banks an opportunity to address the people, exposing the malevolence of the priest, and "declaring God's everlasting truth to the people." At length the priest's wife said to the governor, "I pray you, sir, let him not preach here; commit him to jail."

After some further discourse, the governor committed John Banks and two other Friends to prison, whither they were followed by a large crowd, and the jailer being friendly, gave them a room over the prison adjoining his own dwelling. Both apartments were soon filled with people, and John Banks was enabled to preach the gospel with good effect. "I preached," he says, "the way of life and salvation to the people in and through Jesus Christ his Son, by believing in his pure light, and walking answerably to the teachings of his grace, and the reproofs of his Holy Spirit, by which they might receive power to become the sons of God, and to strengthen the faith of those who believed therein. It was a blessed day for the Lord and his Truth, for his heavenly power

broke in upon many, and several were convinced, and received the truth in the love of it."

The priest, being importuned by the people, agreed to meet John Banks and dispute with him the next morning; but broke his engagement, and went to the sheriff, about two miles distant, to whom he said, "I entreat you, sir, either take some course in time, or else I fear all the town of Wicklow will be Quakers, and then there will be no abiding for me."

The imprisonment of John Banks and his friends was of short duration, for on the third day they were liberated by the governor. Their brief sojourn in Wicklow had been the means of awakening many to a sense of their spiritual wants, and their attention being directed to Christ the shepherd of souls, and teacher of his people, they forsook the lifeless ministry of the priests, to seek for a purer worship in the inner sanctuary of the heart.

John Banks, after travelling in the north of Ireland, returned to Dublin, where he found a letter from Wicklow, informing him that the people desired another meeting, and that the sergeant who took him before the governor was willing they should meet in his house. This offer, however, he was induced, by the threats of the priest, to withdraw, and another house was obtained for the purpose, but it would not contain the people who assembled.

"It was," says John Banks, "a blessed, heavenly, peaceable meeting," and resulted in many being brought to a knowledge of the Truth. Those who embraced the principles of Friends, were prosecuted and imprisoned for tithes; but the truth prospered so much the more, and a meeting was established there.

Two years afterwards, John Banks again visited

Ireland, when he found the meeting at Wicklow in a prosperous condition, and Friends maintaining their testimonies with fidelity through all their persecutions.¹

In the year 1675, Robert Sandham, of Younghal, a faithful elder and exemplary member of the society, departed this life in the 55th year of his age. He was born in Sussex, A. D., 1620, and being from his youth piously inclined, joined in profession with the Baptists, who, at that time, were a persecuted and tender people. Having come to Ireland as a soldier in the English army, he was, in the year 1655, convinced of the truth as it "is in Jesus," through the ministry of Elizabeth Fletcher, who preached in the streets of Younghal. Some years afterwards, he was imprisoned at Cork for declining to swear when summoned on a jury.

In the year 1662, he was under much exercise of mind in determining his place of residence. Cork seemed to offer the fairest prospect of success in worldly business, but Younghal appeared to be the place where he should be most serviceable in the church of Christ, the meeting there having declined in numbers and in strength; whereas the meeting at Cork was then blessed with the succor of many faithful Friends. At length, he gave up in faith to dwell at Younghal, trusting in Divine Providence as to his temporal concerns.

In the following year a meeting was settled at his house, but persecution followed, their meetings being broken up by soldiers, and a sentinel placed at his door to prevent the entrance of Friends. The governor ordered him and his family to leave the town,

¹ Journal of J. Banks, and Ruttys Rise of Friends in Ireland.

but he asserted his right as a freeman to remain, and refused to obey the unjust command. The governor then resorted to force, and sent him under a guard of soldiers, a distance of twenty-four miles to Charleville, there to appear before Roger Boyle, Lord President of Munster, afterwards Earl of Orrery. That functionary, finding there was nothing criminal charged against the prisoner, set him at liberty, and he returned to Younghal, where he endured with patience and courage the reproaches and sufferings that attended him. A meeting continued to be kept at his house while he lived, and after his death at his widow's, until a meeting-house was built in that town, in the year 1681.¹

There was, at this time, much fervor of devotion manifested among the Friends in Ireland, as appears by the Journal of Oliver Sansom, of Berkshire, a minister then on a gospel mission among them. He says, "The general Half-year's meeting at Dublin began on the Fourth day of the week, at the ninth hour in the morning, and the meeting for worship continued until after the first hour. About an hour after, Friends met again in order to consider of the affairs of the church; but the power of the Lord brake forth so mightily among them in many testimonies, prayers, and praises to the Lord, that there was no time to enter upon business that day, and so the meeting broke up. Next morning the meeting began again about the ninth hour, and continued until near the third hour in the afternoon, and a precious heavenly time it was. Then adjourning for one hour, Friends came together again to go on with

¹ Butty's Rise of Friends in Ireland, 138.

the business of the meeting; but then again the Lord's power mightily appeared, whereby many mouths were opened to declare of the goodness of the Lord, and to offer up prayers and praises to him, which took up the time of the meeting of that day also, so that very little could be done as touching business. But early next morning, Friends went about the business of the meeting, and continued at it the greatest part of that day, and the next day also, when it was concluded; being the Seventh day of the week in the evening, having been generally carried on in much unity and harmony."¹

This year died William Morris, of Castle-Salem, in the county of Cork, a man of talents and influence, who had been serviceable upon many occasions by appearing before the rulers of the nation, to plead the cause of Friends under suffering for conscience' sake. He was convinced of Friends' principles in the year 1656, and was soon after dismissed from a post he held under the government. "He was," says Wm. Edmundson, "a worthy, wise man, had a testimony in our meetings, and died in the faith of Jesus."²

In the year 1682, Wm. Edmundson and Robert Jackson, declining to pay the tithes demanded of them, were cited before the Bishop's court, excommunicated, and committed to prison in a dungeon, where thieves and murderers were usually kept. In this dismal abode they were detained twenty weeks; but, being visited by Friends from most parts of the nation, they had many precious meetings. At length

¹ Rutty's Rise of Friends in Ireland, 140.

² W. E.'s Journal, 136. Rutty's Rise of Friends in Ireland, 144.

the Lord of Ely, who was their landlord, being touched with compassion for their sufferings, made application for their liberty to the bishop, who ordered them to appear before his court at Kildare.

They went accordingly, accompanied by John Burnyeat and Anthony Sharp, who did not enter, but stood at the door of the court. The bishop, with ten or twelve priests, the Lord of Ely, and other persons of quality, were present.

The bishop having entered into discourse with Wm. Edmundson, concerning the grounds on which tithes were demanded, was answered with a cogent argument, showing that "tithes were ended, and that it was anti-Christian either to pay or receive them in gospel times." Many other points were discussed, relating to gospel ministry, the Christian religion, faith, and the true worship of God. Wm. Edmundson, placing his reliance upon divine aid, was enabled to answer all their questions so fully and satisfactorily, that no one ventured to controvert his views, the bishop himself being silent. "I told them," he writes, "that I thought my suffering was illegal, for the clause in the statute of Henry VIII. by which they had proceeded against me, did not apply to me; and if a moderate, unbiassed judge had the administering of the law, he might have found that I was not the man it took hold of; for the words in that statute are, that if any man, out of a perverse will and ungodly mind, shall detain his tithes, he shall be proceeded against. But as for me, I did not detain tithes out of an ungodly will and perverse mind, but out of a tender conscience towards God." This being a point the court had not considered, they were silent, except the bishop, who requested Wm.

Edmundson to produce in writing, at the next court, the reasons why he dissented from the church of England; and in the mean time, the sheriff was directed to set the Friends at liberty. On coming to the door, they were again joined by John Burnyeat, who said he was never better satisfied with a day's work in his life, the testimony of truth being triumphant.

At the next court they appeared as required, when the bishop offered to absolve them; but Wm. Edmundson told him, he could not come under any of their ceremonies. They had much discourse, and at length the bishop said, may God make you good Christians. He then directed the sheriff to discharge them from his custody; and from that time forward, both the bishop and the officers of the court were kind to Friends, and particularly to Wm. Edmundson.

In the summer of 1683, the government issued an order requiring all the Dissenters in Dublin to desist from meeting publicly in their places of worship. At the same time the Archbishop of Dublin sent for Anthony Sharp, and told him it was the command of the government that Friends should also forbear assembling for worship in their meeting-houses. They returned for answer, "That they believed it was their indispensable duty to meet together to worship the great God of Heaven and earth, from whom we receive all our mercies, and not to forbear assembling together for fear of punishment from men."¹

The other professors generally complied with the order, and closed their meeting-houses; but Friends continued to meet as before. On a First-day in the

¹ John Burnyeat's Works, 79. — Rutt's Hist. 150.

6th month, the marshal and other officers came to Friends' meeting-house where John Burnyeat was preaching, and commanded him to go with them, which he complied with. The meeting was also commanded to disperse, but Friends kept their places. John Burnyeat being taken before the mayor, was examined and committed to prison, where he remained about two months, and was then released by the deputy-governor, at the solicitation of Friends.¹ This eminent minister had lately removed from Cumberland, in England, and settled in Dublin, where he married in his 52d year, having devoted the prime of his life to the service of his Maker, preaching the gospel almost continually in Great Britain and Ireland, and in foreign lands.² After his release from imprisonment in Dublin, he was much engaged in visiting the meetings of Friends throughout Ireland, greatly to their comfort and encouragement.

In this year Thomas Carleton, of the county of Wicklow, in Ireland, was removed by death. He was convinced of Friends' principles in Cumberland, in the year 1663, and removed to Ireland in 1673. In early youth he was visited with the love and tender mercy of the Lord, raising in his heart earnest desires to lead a holy life. As he advanced towards manhood, he was diligently engaged in all the ceremonial observances and ordinances that he had been taught to believe were religious duties, but he failed to obtain that peace of mind and assurance of divine favor which he ardently desired.

"At length," he writes, "after much humiliation, contrition, and distress, it pleased the Father to reveal his Son in me, and by his light that gives 'the know-

¹ J. Burnyeat's Works, 81.

² Gough, III, 296.

ledge of the glory of God, in the face of his son Jesus Christ,' he was pleased to give me a glimpse of the heavenly land and of the way to the kingdom of God, which I saw to be in and through the light of Christ Jesus, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, as it was then preached and testified by the servants of the Lord, a measure of which I felt in myself, and which told me all that ever I did, secretly condemning every work in me, with every word that was contrary to the will and mind of the Father, and also justifying every word and work that was according to his will."

He received a gift in the gospel ministry, and was "very serviceable, both for the convincing of many who were strangers to the way of the Lord, and for edifying, building up, and inciting to diligence those already convinced."¹

At this time Friends' meetings, being the only ones among the Dissenters kept openly at stated times, were much resorted to by sincere inquirers, and many were added to their numbers who became afterwards valuable members of the society.

After the accession of James II. to the British throne, some Friends in Ireland being appointed by the government to serve in the station of magistrates and other municipal offices, a paper of advice was issued by the General meeting of Friends, addressed to those who accepted such offices, exhorting them "to keep to the truth in every thing, that they might shine as lights in the world, and be helpful to bring forth justice, judgment, and righteousness."

About the same time the following letter was addressed by Geo. Fox to Wm. Edmundson:

¹ Butty's Rise of Friends in Ireland, 154.

“DEAR WILLIAM :

“As for those Friends of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other places, that have taken these offices of aldermen and burgesses upon them, they must consider and be wise ; for, if they keep to the truth, they can neither take any oaths, nor put any oaths to any one ; neither can they put on their gowns and strange kind of habits, as Friends have considered it here, when they talk of putting them in such places ; and, again, when they have the alderman, or mayor, or common council feasts, Friends here cannot join them in such things ; but, if they will make the poor a feast, that cannot feast you again, Friends have proffered themselves to join with them. But to feast them that will feast you again, and to join with them in their strange kind of habits and formalities, is not like Truth that denies the pomps and fashions of the world. In their places, they should do justice to all men ; and be a terror to them that do evil, and a praise to them that do well ; and preserve every man, both in his natural rights and properties, and in his divine rights and liberty, according to the righteous law of God.

“GEORGE FOX.”¹

When it was known in Ireland that James II. had fled to France, and that William and Mary had been proclaimed in England, as sovereigns of the British people, great alarm and exasperation were manifested by the Catholic population. It had been the policy of James to confer places of trust and power chiefly upon the Papists ; and a large army of native Irish had been enrolled and placed under officers who were

¹ Ruttys Rise of Friends in Ireland, 156.

mostly of that communion. There were, moreover, vast numbers of the lower class who roamed about the country with arms in their hands, evincing the utmost hostility to the Protestants and committing depredations on their property. These banditti were called Rapparees. Their bigotry was inflamed by the priests; and, while professing to fight for their country and their religion, they set at nought all the principles of morality. The Protestants, though but a small fraction of the population, possessed a large proportion of the wealth and most of the landed estate. They were generally of English and Scottish descent; and many of them, having bought or inherited the estates of old Irish families confiscated in former rebellions, were regarded by the Rapparees as usurpers, whom it would be meritorious to despoil.

A rumor being spread, that a general massacre of the Protestants was intended, they mostly drew near together, and placed themselves in an attitude of defence; while many of the more timid retired to the fortified cities, or took passage for England. A dreadful civil war was felt to be impending — a war of races, embittered by antagonism in religion.

In this season of universal alarm, the Friends generally kept their places, and maintained their religious meetings; trusting in the Lord, who rules in heaven and on earth, and can bound the raging waves of the sea.¹

William Edmundson, while engaged in visiting the meetings of Friends in the North and other parts of Ireland, in the year 1685, was impressed with a sense of approaching calamities, and predicted that the

¹ Ruttys Rise of Friends in Ireland, 156.

earth would be strewed "with the carcasses of men." He therefore warned Friends, in their meetings, "to lessen their concerns in the world, and be ready to receive the Lord in his judgments, that were at hand, and to flee unto Him for succor, that they might have a place of safety in Him."

The Earl of Tyrconnel, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who adhered to the cause of King James, having armed the Irish, required the English to give up their weapons. An open war soon broke out. The Irish troops committed great ravages upon the property of the Protestants; and the Rapparees, coming after, completed the ruin of many.

The Friends, as well as other Protestants, being robbed by the Irish soldiers and Rapparees, Wm. Edmundson went several times to Dublin, to solicit the government on their behalf. He was heard with attention by the Earl of Tyrconnel and Chief-Justice Nugent, and measures were taken with a view to protect them from robbery and abuse; but such was the state of anarchy prevailing, that no effectual remedy could be applied. As it was known that Friends were an inoffensive people, whose principles were opposed to war, the Catholics in authority were disposed to shield them from the severities inflicted upon other Protestants. But, notwithstanding all the endeavors used, they were exposed to great perils. Many of them lost all their personal property. Some were stripped of their clothing, and their dwellings burned to the ground. In the midst of so much danger, it seemed almost impossible that their lives should be preserved; yet they had to acknowledge, that "the Lord's eminent hand of deliverance won-

derfully appeared, to their great admiration and comfort." ¹

In the Third month, 1689, the National meeting of Friends was held in Dublin; and, notwithstanding the great hazard of travelling, members were in attendance from several provinces. So great was their zeal for the Lord's service, and their faith in his providential care, that all the dreadful commotions and imminent dangers could not prevent them from attending their meetings. The losses sustained by Friends in the province of Leinster, as then reported to the meeting, amounted to about 900 pounds.

At the next Half-year's meeting, in the Ninth month, it appeared that the losses of Friends in Leinster and Munster amounted to above 7000 pounds sterling. The principal business of their Half-year's meetings was to provide relief for their distressed brethren throughout the nation.

King James, after his flight to the continent, came over to Ireland, and with an army composed of French and Irish troops, endeavored to recover his kingdom. During the fierce struggle that ensued, the provinces of Leinster and Munster were ravaged by advancing or retreating armies. The Friends who continued at their homes were plundered and exposed to great peril; but not being classed as belligerents, their lives were generally spared. They were, indeed, sometimes enabled to perform kind offices for both parties; pleading for their Irish neighbors when the English forces had obtained the ascendancy, and on the other hand sheltering the Protestant English when the Irish had gained a temporary advantage. The position of the Friends was perilous, and their

¹ Rise of Friends in Ireland, 157, and W. Edmundson's Journal.

conduct was worthy of the occasion, beautifully exemplifying the sublime doctrines of the Prince of Peace.

After the defeat of King James at the battle of the Boyne, and his subsequent flight, his Irish troops disbanded themselves, and roaming through the country, carried terror and devastation into the Protestant districts. The troops of King William were under better discipline, and strictly prohibited from pillage; but even they could not always be restrained from the license to plunder that always attends the practice of war.

Some particulars relating to the sufferings and preservation of Friends, in those trying times, are here subjoined:

At Rosinallis, in Queen's county, William Edmundson and several other Friends kept their places, attended their religious meetings, and enjoyed them peaceably; but in travelling to and fro they were often in great peril of their lives from the Rapparees. One night in the latter part of autumn, 1690, some hundreds of these rapacious plunderers gathered around the dwelling of Wm. Edmundson, and, after firing some shots in at the windows, set fire to the building. When the family could no longer remain in the house on account of the flames, they made the best terms they could with the robbers, and opened the doors. The Rapparees, regardless of their promises, took possession of all the property they could save from the fire, stripped Wm. Edmundson and his family of most of their clothing, and seizing him, with his two sons, carried them away almost naked. Next morning the Rapparees held a council, and concluded to hang the two young men and shoot the father. He pleaded with

them, stating that he had never wronged any of their countrymen, but on the contrary had hazarded his life to save them from the English soldiers. Several of them answered that they knew he was an honest man. He then said to them, "If I die, you are my witnesses that I am innocent, and God will avenge my blood." They had hoodwinked his sons in order to hang them, and were about to place a bandage over his eyes; but he told them, "they need not, for he could look them in the face, and was not afraid to die."

At this juncture Lieutenant Dunn came up, and thinking he could advance his own interests by taking the prisoners to the Irish garrison at Athlone, he rescued them from the Rapparees. This officer was the son of Captain Dunn, whom Wm. Edmundson had rescued from the English soldiers, and whose property he had saved from their depredations. The prisoners were conveyed twenty miles to Athlone, in a most pitiable condition, suffering with cold, almost famished, and surrounded by an Irish mob that seemed to thirst for their blood. They were taken to the castle, where the Governor, Col. Grace, and some officers of the Irish army, were met in council. W. Edmundson came forward with an old blanket wrapped about him, and being asked his name, he answered, "I am old William Edmundson." The governor stood up with tears in his eyes, and said, "I am sorry to see you in that condition, for I know you well, having been sometimes at your house." He then asked Lieutenant Dunn what charge he had against the prisoner. He made several false accusations, which William Edmundson answered to the satisfaction of the council. Although the governor was

disposed to release the Friends, he durst not do so immediately, lest his clemency to the Protestant English should excite the jealousy of his own party.

After some days' detention, Wm. Edmundson was allowed to go to the house of John Clibborn, a Friend living about six miles from Athlone, and subsequently he and his sons had liberty to return to their home; but their dwelling was in ruins, and much of their property wasted.¹

John Clibborn was a native of England, who came into Ireland as a soldier in Cromwell's army, and having married in that country, settled at Moate Grenoge. He had a great aversion to the people called Quakers, and determined to burn their meeting-house which was built on land rented of him. With this view, he provided himself with fire, and went to the place at a time when he supposed there was no one in the house; but to his surprise he found a meeting of Friends assembled, and Thomas Loe engaged in preaching. He threw away the fire, went into the house, and took a seat behind the door. The gospel truths he heard declared, affected him so deeply, that on his return home, being asked by his wife "if he had burned the Quaker meeting-house," he answered, "No; but if you will come to meeting with me next Sunday, and do not like it, I shall go to church with you the Sunday following."

She accordingly went with her husband, and Thos. Loe again preached, under whose powerful ministry they both received the truth, and joined in profession with Friends. This was about the year 1658. John Clibborn afterwards observing that the meeting-house was inconveniently crowded, built a larger one at his

¹ Wm. Edmundson's Journal.

own expense, which, with an adjoining lot for a burial-place, he devised to the Society of Friends.

During the civil war, he kept his place in the midst of great dangers, as did also the other Friends in that vicinity. They continued to maintain their meetings and to extend hospitality to all comers, until they were driven from their homes, and their houses destroyed.

John Clibborn "was dragged in the night by the hair of his head from that house which had afforded an asylum to the distressed; but which was now the spoil of the plunderers and of the flames." Three times his life was attempted by blood-thirsty men, who at length laid his head on a block, and were about to strike the fatal blow. He requested a little time, which was granted, and kneeling down, he prayed, in the words of the martyr Stephen, that this sin might not be laid to their charge. Just then, another party arriving, inquired, "Who have you got there?" "Clibborn," was the answer. "Clibborn!" rejoined the others, "a hair of his head shall not be touched." Thus escaping with his life, and almost naked, he wrapped a blanket around him, and presenting himself before the commanding officer at Athlone, related the treatment he had received. The officer desired him to point out the men who had committed the outrage, and "they should be hanged before his hall-door." This he declined to do, and declaring that he owed them no ill-will, he desired only that his neighbors and himself might be allowed to live unmolested. He lived to see tranquillity restored, was a bright example of Christian virtues, and after enjoying a serene old age, died in 1705, in his 82d year.¹

At Montmelick and Mountrath, county towns without defences, there were two large meetings of Friends,

¹ Armistead's Select Miscellanies, I. 197.

the members of which were much exposed to the ravages of the Rapparees. The Friends, however, kept up their meetings, placing their trust in the arm of Divine power, and they were led to admire that their little stock of provisions should hold out as it did, considering that their houses were filled with people.

"These particulars," writes the historian of the Irish Friends, "show the eminent providential hand of the Lord over Friends, and his care and kindness to preserve them in the midst of such great perils, and many more might be instanced. And though in those times many of the English neighbors fell by the hands of those bloody murderers, yet we know of but four that we could own to be of our society in all the nation, that fell by the hands of cruelty, and two of them too forwardly ventured their lives when they were lost."¹ In those times of sore trial and distress, Friends were humble, trustful, and charitable; those who had something left, communicated freely to such as were in want; and when driven from their homes, they generally returned. The National Half-year's meeting took care to provide the necessaries of life, as far as practicable, to all their members, who were recommended to settle near together for the benefit of meetings, to wait upon the Lord.

It is remarkable that they generally kept their meetings for worship and discipline without much disturbance from either party, though many Friends went to them in great peril of their lives. Their fidelity was abundantly rewarded; for it is recorded that, "The Lord was pleased to accompany them in their meetings with his glorious, heavenly presence."²

¹ Rise of Friends in Ireland, 165. Wight and Ruttly.

² Ibid. 166.

The loss of property sustained by Friends in Ireland during the war, was estimated at 100,000 pounds sterling, and yet it was supposed their losses were less in proportion to their numbers than those of any other class of Protestants.

John Burnyeat, having married and settled in Ireland, as already related, continued to reside in Dublin, where his beloved companion was removed by death in the year 1688. In this season of bereavement, he thought he should return to Cumberland, his former place of residence; but the war in Ireland coming on, he had not freedom to go, being made willing to stay and partake with his friends in their sufferings.

During the calamitous period that ensued he visited the meetings of Friends in various places, exposing himself to great perils in order to convey encouragement and consolation to his distressed brethren.

In the summer of 1690, he attended a meeting at Rosinallis, where he was engaged in gospel ministry, exhorting Friends to faithfulness, and speaking greatly to their comfort. After visiting Friends at Mountrath, he attended the monthly meeting at New Garden, "where many heard him bear a living, sweet testimony, in the opening of the Word of life, to the refreshing of their souls." At the close of the meeting he went home with his friend John Watson, and was there taken sick of a fever. During twelve days that he lay ill, he was preserved in a sweet frame of mind, often remarking that he was at ease and quiet in his spirit. He said to John Watson, that he ever loved the Lord, and the Lord loved him from his youth, and that he felt his love. On the 11th of the

Seventh month, 1690, he quietly and peacefully departed this life, about the 59th year of his age.

John Burnyeat was eminent for his spiritual gifts, and faithful services in the church. George Fox speaks of him as "an elder and pillar in the house of God;" and Friends of Cumberland, in their testimony concerning him, say, "He was a man of an excellent spirit and of deep experience in the things of God." . . . "The Lord blessed him with the fruits of his Holy Spirit, whereby he became well qualified for the work of the ministry, a nursing father, lending a hand of help to the feeble of the flock, and comforting the mourners in Sion." . . . "And though the Lord bestowed eminent gifts upon him, yet he would condescend to the weak capacities of all, to reach to the good in all, that he might lay a foundation to build upon. He had the word of reconciliation committed unto him, whereby he was made instrumental to reconcile many to God by Jesus Christ, and one unto another." In Ireland his services were highly appreciated, as appears by the affectionate tribute to his memory written by Friends in Dublin. They say, "He was a true servant to all honest Friends, as well the poor as rich, and would freely administer of his outward substance to such as stood in need. He was meek and gentle, and of a healing spirit; and it was the unspeakable love and mercy of God to us in this nation, and particularly this city of Dublin, to order his abode and settlement amongst us. By him many were convinced of the Truth, and turned from the evil of their ways, and the peace of the church, the unity and fellowship of Friends, increased."¹

¹ J. Burnyeat's Works, p. 16.

CHAPTER XV.

SCOTLAND.

1674-90.

THE sufferings of Friends in Scotland, on account of their religious worship and testimonies, were, for some years, very grievous. Without entering into the painful details, it may be sufficient to quote the language of Robert Barclay in relation to them. After alluding to the solemn duty of worshipping God in spirit and in truth, he says, "When the magistrates, stirred up by the malice and envy of our opposers, have used all means possible — and yet in vain — to deter us from meeting together, and that openly and publicly in our own hired houses for that purpose; both death, banishments, imprisonments, finings, beatings, whippings, and other such devilish inventions, have proved ineffectual to terrify us from our holy assemblies. And we having thus often purchased our liberty to meet by deep sufferings, our opposers have then taken another way; by turning in upon us the worst and wickedest people, yea, the very offscourings of men, who by all manner of inhuman, beastly, and brutish behavior, have sought to provoke us, weary and molest us, but in vain. It would be almost incredible to declare, and indeed a shame, that among men pretending to be Christians, it should be mentioned what things of this kind men's eyes have seen, and I, myself, with others, have

shared of in suffering! There they have often beaten us, and cast water and dirt upon us, there they have danced, leaped, sung and spoken all manner of profane and ungodly words, offered violence and shameful behavior to grave women and virgins; jeered, mocked and scoffed, asking us if the spirit was not yet come? And much more, which were tedious here to relate; and all this, while we have been seriously and silently sitting together and waiting upon the Lord. So that by these things our inward and spiritual fellowship with God, and one with another, in the pure life of righteousness, hath not been hindered."¹

In this disgraceful practice of disturbing meetings, one violent opposer, David Rail, was especially active for the space of two years. On one of these occasions, Thomas Fern, an English Friend, then on a gospel mission to Scotland, was often interrupted by David Rail, whom he repeatedly cautioned to desist from his turbulent behavior: at length after long forbearance, he solemnly warned him "to beware lest he should incur some remarkable judgment from the hand of God." Within a few days after, this wicked man fell under extreme anguish and terror of conscience, crying out continually, that "The judgments of God were upon him for his abuses of the Quakers in their religious meetings." He could not rest until he sent for David and Robert Barclay to come and visit him; and when they were come, he with many tears begged them to forgive him, crying out, "Help, help, help, I never wronged any but you, and will beg your help on my knees." They being moved with compassion, not only forgave him, but prayed to the Lord for him; after which he recovered,

¹ Apology, Prep. XI. Sec. 13.

and his mind became easy and quiet. After his restoration, he manifested his wickedness and ingratitude by returning to his former practices, in which he continued until he became utterly distracted, and died in that state.¹

In the year 1675 a public discussion was held at Aberdeen in the presence of some hundreds of people, between Robert Barclay and George Keith on one part, and some students of divinity on the other part. It originated in the publication, by Robert Barclay, of his "Theses," or Propositions, forming the groundwork of his Apology, which he offered to defend publicly in those places where the principles of Friends had been misrepresented, and against those persons who had so traduced them. No answer was received from the public preachers or professors in the University, but some students of divinity presented themselves as disputants, to whom Barclay and his friends answered, "You are not the persons challenged by us; as not being the public preachers that misrepresented us; but seeing you are desirous to debate the matter, we are not unwilling to render to any a reason for the hope that is in us, and therefore shall not decline it." The Friends defended their principles with sound scriptural arguments, while the students replied mostly in syllogisms that had no foundation in fact. The dispute, after continuing for three hours, terminated in tumult and disorder, "the students handling serious subjects with levity, and at last triumphing in a victory they had not obtained." Some of the audience treated the Friends in an abusive manner, pelting them with clods and stones, but the result showed on which side the victory lay, for

¹ Besse, II. 502.

four students who were listeners at the debate, being convinced by the arguments and Christian deportment of the Friends, joined in profession with them.¹

In the year 1676, Robert Barclay was engaged in a gospel mission to the meetings of Friends in some parts of England, and thence he proceeded to Holland and Germany. It is a subject of regret that so few particulars concerning this journey have been preserved. It was then "he commenced an acquaintance with Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, who was distantly related to his mother, and with her he had a satisfactory opportunity of conference on religious subjects."² She was the daughter of Frederic V., the Elector Palatine, and grand-daughter of James I. of England. Her younger sister, Sophia, was consort to the Elector of Hanover, from which union sprang the present royal family of England. The princess Elizabeth was no less distinguished for her learning and piety than for her exalted rank; she had been visited by Wm. Penn in the year 1671, and through his ministry and that of other Friends she was brought to acknowledge the truth of their principles.³

On the return of Robert Barclay from the continent, he received information in London that his father and other Friends in Scotland were prisoners on account of their religious testimony. Having some interest at court, and access to the king's presence, he delivered into his hands a petition on behalf of his suffering friends. It was favorably re-

¹ R. Barclay's Works, 572, 673.

² J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland.

³ For an account of this princess, see Janney's Life of W. Penn, Chapter IX.

ceived and referred to the king's Privy Council in Scotland; but the council did not think proper to interfere in the case, as they had before referred it to their commissioners at Aberdeen. The Friends, thirty-five in number, had now been in prison about seven months, in default of payment of the fines imposed by the court of commissioners. David Barclay, Alexander Gellie, Robert Burnett, Alexander Harper, Alexander Skene, Andrew Jaffray, and Alexander Forbes, were fined each one-fourth of their respective valued rents for keeping conventicles, and an eighth part of the same, each, for withdrawing from the national worship. Those who were not landed proprietors were fined from thirty to forty pounds each, and two of them, John Skene and Geo. Keith, having preached, were required to give security not to do the like thereafter, or else to leave the kingdom.

The prisoners being again brought before the commissioners, were asked whether they would give bond not to hold any more meetings, to which they replied in the negative, and were remanded to prison. Their fines were assigned for collection to Captain George Melville, and they were informed that upon payment they should be set at liberty.¹ As they declined to satisfy the unjust demand, they were kept in prison, and Melville proceeded to collect the fines by seizing their property to a much greater amount than was requisite to satisfy the claims. On the fines being levied, the prisoners were set at liberty, and evinced their fidelity to duty by attending their meetings for public worship, where many of them being seized by the officers, were again subjected to imprisonment in

¹ Besse.

close unwholesome cells, to the endangering of their health.

Robert Barclay, on his return to Scotland, was taken at a religious meeting, and committed to prison, with others of his brethren. Information of his commitment having reached his friend, the Princess Palatine, she immediately wrote to her brother, Prince Rupert, the following letter:

“HERFORD, Dec. 19th, 1676.

“DEAR BROTHER:

“I have written to you some months ago, by Robert Barclay, who passed this way, and hearing I was your sister, desired to speak with me. I knew him to be a Quaker by his hat, and took occasion to inform myself of all their opinions; and finding they were so *submiss* to the magistrates in real, omitting the ceremonial, I wished in my heart the King might have many such subjects. And since, I have heard that notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious letter on his behalf to the council of Scotland, he has been clapped up in prison with the rest of his friends; and they threaten to hang them, at least those they call preachers among them, unless they subscribe their own banishment; and this upon a law made against other sects, that appeared armed for the maintenance of their heresy, which goes directly against the principles of those who are ready to suffer all that can be inflicted, and still love and pray for their enemies. Therefore, dear Brother, if you can do any thing to prevent their destruction, I doubt not you would do an action acceptable to God Almighty, and conducive to the service of your royal master; for the Presbyterians are their main enemies, to whom they

are an eye-sore, as being witness against all their violent ways. I care not though his Majesty see my letter; it is written no less out of an humble affection for him, than in a sensible compassion for the innocent sufferers. You will act herein according to your own discretion; and I beseech you still consider me as

ELIZABETH."¹

In the early part of the year 1677, the imprisoned Friends, who had been detained more than a year, addressed to the King's council at Edinburgh a statement of their sufferings, and at the same time Robert Barclay wrote a letter of expostulation to Archbishop Sharpe, a member of the council, and a chief instigator of their wrongs. In the Third month following, the Friends were liberated, and for the first time since the commencement of the persecution, the prison at Aberdeen was clear of these sufferers.

They were, however, not permitted long to enjoy their liberty, and the comforts of domestic life; for their persecutors continued unrelenting, and subjected them again to a still closer imprisonment.

During about two years and a half from this date, the Friends in Scotland continued to be persecuted with severity; and they manifested, by their patience and forgiveness of injuries, that they were the disciples of Christ, "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously."

Soon after his release from prison, Robert Barclay travelled into England, and thence to Germany, where he paid a second visit to his friend and correspondent, the Princess Palatine.

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland.

After attending meetings in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, he proceeded, in company with Wm. Penn and Benjamin Furley, to Herwerden, the residence of the Princess. On being apprised of their arrival, she replied, "She was glad they were come, and should be ready to receive them the next morning, about the seventh hour." They went accordingly, and were received with great kindness. They had several interviews with the Princess and her friend, the Countess de Hornes, and two meetings for worship in the palace, attended by citizens of the town, as well as the family of the Princess.

On leaving Herwerden, Wm. Penn and B. Furley continued their travels in Germany, but Robert Barclay returned to Amsterdam.¹ On his way home, he wrote from London to the Princess Elizabeth, stating that he had had an interview with the Duke of York, and requested him to write to the Duke of Lauderdale, the King's secretary, then in Scotland, "that he was serious in the business," and really in earnest to obtain relief for the persecuted Friends in Aberdeen. The Duke of York took this pressing application in good part, and promised to write on behalf of David and Robert Barclay, but not for the Friends in general. There is reason to believe that he complied with his promise, for an order came from the court, "with a reprimand for meddling with either of them," and Robert Barclay afterwards procured the liberation of the other Friends.²

Among the most valiant champions of Truth, in

¹ For a further account of this journey, see Wm. Penn's Works, and Janney's Life of Penn, Chapter IX.

² J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland.

this prolonged contest for the liberty of the gospel, was Patrick Livingston. He was a native of Scotland, as has been before stated, but had married and settled in England. About two months after his marriage, he came to his native country to visit his friends, and soon became a partaker of their sufferings. Greatly to the disadvantage of his temporal concerns, and to the grief of his partner in life, he was imprisoned three years, during all which time he was never called to appear before any judge or court, that he might have the charges laid against him examined, and an opportunity allowed for his defence. At the desire of some who commiserated his condition, he was several times allowed his freedom for a very short time, but was speedily taken again at religious meetings; for, having come into that country on a gospel mission, he did not feel it right to withdraw until his service was accomplished.

“He would often acknowledge to his friends that he still felt his mind fettered, so that he could not be satisfied to leave them; but after attending the Monthly meeting in the Ninth month, 1679, he appeared to have a prospect of the cessation of persecution, and signified that he was wholly clear, both in the sight of his Maker and with respect to all men, to return to his home in England.” It was remarkable that, after this period, Friends were left to enjoy their religious meetings.¹

In the year 1681, John Burnyeat, accompanied by Peter Fearon, paid a visit to Friends in Scotland, and labored among them in the love of the gospel. Three years subsequently, John Burnyeat was again there

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland.

engaged in the same service. He found the meetings of Friends quiet and undisturbed, and the divine blessing appeared to attend his labors.¹

In the year 1682, the Proprietors of East New Jersey appointed Robert Barclay Governor of that province, his term of service to be during life. It was expressly stated in the commission that this appointment resulted from their confidence in his skill, prudence, and integrity; and, without laying any necessity upon him to repair to the province, he was invested with the power to name and grant a commission to a deputy-governor to serve in his absence. He appointed Thomas Rudyard, an attorney in London, and a member of the Society of Friends, to be his deputy, who proceeded to New Jersey and discharged the duties of his office.

In the year 1683, he experienced a remarkable preservation from imminent danger. He had been in London most of the summer visiting his friends, and on his way home, in company with his wife and brother-in-law, Gilbert Molleson, and his friend, Aaron Sonemans, a merchant in Holland, they were attacked in Huntingdonshire by highwaymen. One of them presented a pistol to Robert Barclay; he took him by the arm very calmly, asking how he came to be so rude, for he knew his business. The fellow trembling, dropped the pistol upon the ground in great surprise, and did not so much as demand any thing. Gilbert Molleson was robbed, and poor Sonemans was shot through the thigh, from the effects of which he died in a few days. That morning before the attack, Robert Barclay appeared more pensive than usual, and told his wife it was his opinion some unusual

¹ J. Burnyeat's Works, 83.

trial would befall them that day; but when the affair happened, he enjoyed remarkable serenity.¹

In the year 1686 he received a letter from George Fox, earnestly desiring that he would visit London, where it was believed his presence might be eminently useful, inasmuch as he had such free access to the king, and so much influence at court. This request he could not immediately comply with, on account of the illness of his honored father, David Barclay, concerning whose decease he has left a touching narrative, from which the following abstract is taken:

In the latter part of the Seventh month, 1686, being past the seventy-sixth year of his age, he took a fever, which continued with him for two weeks, during which time he was preserved in a quiet contented mind, freely resigned to the will of God. Being afflicted also with another disease, he said, during one of its paroxysms, "I am gone now," and then instantly checking himself, he added, "But I shall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren who are gone before me, and to my dear son." This was his youngest son, David, who died at sea about a year before, — an amiable youth of exemplary life, and an acceptable preacher among Friends.²

"On the 11th of the 8th month," (continues Robert Barclay,) "between two and three o'clock in the morning, he growing weaker, I drew nigh to him. He said, 'Is this my son?' I said yea, and spake a few words signifying my travail, that, 'He that loved him might be near him to the end.' He answered, 'The Lord is nigh,' repeating it, 'You are my wit-

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland.

² Ibid.

nesses in the presence of God, that the Lord is nigh.' A little after, he said, 'The perfect discovery of the day-spring from on high; how great a blessing it hath been to me and my family!' My wife desiring to know if he would have something to wet his mouth, he said, 'It needed not.' She said it would refresh him. He laid his hand upon his breast, saying he had that inwardly which refreshed him. After a little while he added at several times these words, 'The Truth is over all.' "

"He took my eldest son to him and blessed him, saying, 'He prayed God he might never depart from the Truth.' My eldest daughter, Patience, coming near, he said, 'Is this Patience? Let patience have its perfect work in thee.' And after kissing the other four, he laid his hands upon them and blessed them. He called for my father-in-law and two of his daughters that were present, and spake some weighty words very kindly. About three in the afternoon there came several Friends from Aberdeen to see him. He took them by the hand and said several times, They were come in a seasonable time. After some words were spoken, and Patrick Livingston had prayed, which ended in praises, he held up his hands and said, 'Amen! Amen, forever!' And afterwards, when they stood looking at him, he said, 'How precious is the love of God among his children, and their love one to another! Thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if ye love one another. How precious a thing it is to see brethren dwell together in love! My love is with you,—I leave it among you.' About eight at night, several Friends standing around the bed, he perceiving some of them weep, said, 'Dear Friends! all mind the inward man,

—heard not the outward,—there is One that doth regard—the Lord of hosts is his name.’ After he heard the clock strike three in the morning, he said, ‘Now the time comes!’ A little after, he was heard to say, ‘Praises, praises, praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Unto thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit and body. Thy will, O Lord! be done in earth, as it is in heaven.’ These sentences he spoke by short intervals one after another, and at a little after five in the morning, the 12th day of the 8th month, 1686, he fell asleep like a lamb in remarkable quietness and calmness.”

Three years after this event, the Society of Friends in Scotland had to resign another of its valued members; George Gray, a minister highly esteemed for his works’ sake. He was a poor weaver, and diligent at his trade in every interval of disengagement from his higher calling; not only that he might in no wise make the gospel chargeable, but in order to set a good example of honest industry.¹ It is testified of him, that, though poor as to the things of this world, he was rich in faith; of very limited education, yet endowed with divine wisdom.

A little before his departure, being filled with the power of the Lord, he gave weighty exhortation and counsel to all that were present, especially to his children. To some Friends who came to see him, he declared, “He had not kept back the word and counsel of the Lord from them, and now he could say it was good doctrine to leave nothing to do till on a dying bed. He died on the 8th of the Twelfth month, 1689, in the 49th year of his age.”²

¹ J. Barclay.

² Piety Promoted.

In the year 1677, Robert Barclay visited England, where he drew up and presented to the king, the sincere acknowledgments of the Friends in Scotland on account of his proclamation for liberty of conscience. In the following year he was again in London, where he staid the whole summer, "visiting and serving his friends to the utmost of his power." His eldest son, Robert, whose "heart was devoted to religion from his infancy," was with him, being then but sixteen years of age.

Robert Barclay having received much personal kindness from James II., and probably believing him sincere in his professions, entertained a friendly regard for that infatuated monarch. "At their parting interview, being in a window where none other was present, the king, looking out, said, 'The wind was now fair for the Prince of Orange coming over;' upon which Barclay took occasion to say, 'It was hard that no expedient could be found to satisfy the people,' to which the king replied, 'That he would do anything becoming a gentleman, except to part with liberty of conscience, which he never would while he lived.'"¹

On his return home, Robert Barclay spent the remaining two years of his life in much retirement, chiefly at Ury; enjoying the esteem and regard of his neighbors, the comforts of domestic society, and doubtless, the soul-sustaining evidence of Divine approbation.

In the year 1690, he accompanied James Dickenson, a minister from Cumberland, in a religious visit to some parts of the north of Scotland, and coming to Ury, after a meeting at Aberdeen, he was seized with

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland.

extreme illness. As James Dickenson sat by him, the Lord's power and presence, bowing their hearts together, Robert Barclay was sweetly melted in a sense of God's love, and with tears expressed his love to all faithful brethren in England who keep their integrity to the Truth. He added, "Remember my love to Friends in Cumberland and at Swarthmore, and to dear George," — meaning George Fox, — "and to all the faithful everywhere." . . . "God is good still, and though I am under great weight of sickness and weakness, as to my body, yet my peace flows; and this I know, whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to God's glory and my salvation, and in that I rest." He died on the 3d of the Eighth month, 1690, in the 42d year of his age, and his remains were attended to the grave in the family burying-place at Ury, by many Friends and others of the neighborhood.¹

The death of Robert Barclay in the meridian of life, and in the midst of his usefulness, was a blow for which his friends were unprepared, and called forth from many of his co-laborers in the gospel, an expression of cordial sympathy for his bereaved family, as well as deep regret for the loss sustained by their religious society.

Among the many letters of condolence received by Christian Barclay on the death of her husband, was one from the Countess of Errol, who was no less distinguished by her Christian virtues than her exalted rank. But the most comforting of all these tributes of affectionate regard, was the following excellent letter from Geo. Fox, being, with one exception, the last that he wrote.

¹ Piety Promoted, and Friends in Scotland.

Geo. Fox to Christian Barclay.

"28th of Tenth month, 1690.

"DEAR FRIEND:

"With my love to thee and thy children, and all the rest of Friends in the holy Seed, Christ Jesus, that reigns over all; in whom ye have all life, and salvation, and rest, and peace with God.

"Now, dear Friend, though the Lord hath taken thy dear husband from thee, his wife, and his children, the Lord will be a husband to thee, and a Father to thy children. Therefore, cast thy care upon the Lord, and trust in Him: let Him be thy confidence, and let thy eye be unto Him at all times, who is a great Ruler and orderer of all, both in heaven and earth, and hath the breath and souls of all in his eternal, infinite hand! And all the creation is upheld by his Word and power, by which they were made; so that a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his will and pleasure; and his sons and servants in his image, are in greater value in his eye than many sparrows. Therefore, thou and thy family may rejoice, that thou hadst such an offering to offer up unto the Lord, as thy dear husband; who, I know, is well in the Lord, in whom he died, and is at rest from his labors, and his works follow him.

"And now, my dear friend, do thy diligence in thy family, in bringing up thy children in the fear of the Lord, and his covenant of Life; that thou mayest present them to God as his children, and all thy servants and tenants, in the wisdom of God. Thou must answer the Truth in them all, in truth, holiness, righteousness and justice, and walking humbly before God. Thou wilt always feel his presence to assist and enable thee to perform whatever he requires of thee; so that

whatever thou dost do, it may be to the honor and glory of God. And do not look at the outward presence of thy husband; but look at the Lord and serve Him with a joyful heart, mind, soul, and spirit, all the days thou livest upon the earth.

"From him, who had a great love and respect for thy dear husband, for his work and service in the Lord, who is content in the will of God, and all things that he doeth;—and so must thou be. And so, the Lord God Almighty settle and establish thee and thine upon the heavenly Rock and Foundation; that as thy children grow in years, they may grow in grace, and so in favor with the Lord. Amen!

"GEORGE FOX."

Postscript.—"I know thy husband hath left a good savor behind him, so I desire thou mayest do the same."

Robert Barclay was possessed of great talents, highly improved by education, and seasoned by divine grace. It does not appear that his superior endowments produced that elation of mind which too often attends the great; he was meek, humble, and considerate of the merits of others. "All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declared that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion to every other attainment; and Divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and virtue." . . . "His zeal was tempered with charity, and he loved and respected goodness wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities and the suavity of

his disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence, and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace, and was often instrumental to settling disputes, and in producing reconciliation between contending parties." "His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful husband, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master. Without exaggeration it may be said that piety and virtue were recommended by his example, and that though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest in an eminent degree the temper and conduct of a Christian and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the gospel."¹

The writings of Robert Barclay have generally and justly been classed among the most valuable that have emanated from the Society of Friends. His natural endowments being enlightened by divine grace, he proved himself to be "a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, bringing forth out of his treasures things new and old." His "Apology for the true Christian Divinity," the most comprehensive of all his works, was printed in Latin, Dutch, and English, and first published in the year 1675. It has since passed through many editions, and continues to be a standard work.

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 216.

CHAPTER XVI.

NEW ENGLAND, MARYLAND, AND CAROLINA.

1675-90.

THE colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, were, in the year 1675, involved in a destructive war with the Indians. Since the settlement of the country by the English, the aborigines had diminished in numbers, until they were reduced to about 50,000, which was also, at that time, about the number of the Europeans in the colonies of New England.¹

The continued encroachments of the English had hemmed in the natives, and restricted their hunting-grounds, until their means of subsistence were greatly diminished, and general dissatisfaction prevailed among them. There appears, however, to have been no conspiracy on their part; the commencement of the war was accidental. Philip of Pokanoket, the son of Massasoit, who first welcomed the Pilgrims to the soil of New England, had now succeeded his father as chief of the allied tribes. His lofty spirit spurned the English claim of jurisdiction, and being summoned to submit to an examination concerning a report of an intended insurrection, his wrath was kindled, and his tribe sympathizing with him, put to death an Indian that had carried the report. The

¹ Bancroft, II. 92, 93.

murderers were seized by the colonists, and being tried by a jury, one-half of whom were Indians, were convicted and executed. The young warriors of the tribe, panting for revenge, slew eight or nine of the English; and Philip being thus hurried into a war, "is reported to have wept, as he heard that a white man's blood had been shed."¹

The Indians did not venture to meet the English in the open field; but by ambushes and surprises they cut off companies of the colonial troops, ravaged the country, burnt the villages, and frequently massacred men, women, and children. "The laborer in the field, the reapers as they went forth to the harvest, men as they went to mill, the shepherd's boy among the sheep, were shot down by skulking-foes, whose approach was invisible."²

From these dreadful calamities the people of Rhode Island were almost entirely exempted by their adherence to the peaceable principles of Christianity. The settlement of this colony, under the leadership of Roger Williams, at Providence, and of William Codrington on the island, has already been related.³ Although the colonists were at first on terms of cordial amity with the Indians, who treated them with great kindness, the usual policy of military defences was then pursued, and Rhode Island, like the neighboring colonies, levied troops, had garrisoned houses, and, in the course of some years, lives were lost in conflict with the natives.⁴

Under Roger Williams, the first governor of the colony, religious liberty was established, and Friends

¹ Bancroft, II. 100.

² Ibid. 103.

³ Vol. I. 348.

⁴ Bowden, I. 305.

finding an asylum from persecution, became at length so numerous, that they could control the elections. In the year 1672, the governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates, were all chosen from among them.¹

In the year 1675, most of the New England colonies were actively engaged in the Indian war, and it was proposed that all should unite in military defences. To this proposition Rhode Island did not accede; the reins of government were in the hands of Friends, and they could not conscientiously engage in warlike measures. This unusual policy was very unsatisfactory to some of the colonists, especially those living on "the main," about Providence; and complaint was made to the British government, "that the colony would never yield any joint assistance against the common enemy, no, not so much as in their own towns." The ravages of the war extended within the borders of the colony—Warwick was burned, Providence was attacked and set on fire, but the inhabitants on Rhode Island itself remained safe; the Indians made no invasion, and not an individual there received personal injury.² The Indians were, doubtless, aware that the Friends living on the Island were opposed to the war; they had always manifested kind feelings towards the natives, and the very circumstance of no military demonstration being made was, under divine Providence, the means of their security.

William Edmundson having recently arrived, and visited the meetings on Rhode Island, believed it his religious duty to "travel eastward towards Piscataway, to visit Friends there under distress by reason

¹ Bowden, I. 297.

² Ibid. 307.

of the war;" though all looked upon it as a perilous journey. "I committed my life," he writes, "to God that gave it, and took my journey; one Friend ventured to go with me, to guide me through the woods to Sandwich, and by the Lord's good hand we got safe there. Friends were glad of my coming, for there was an honest, tender people there, that loved the Lord and his Truth."

He went alone to Boston, and attended one meeting; thence he proceeded to Salem, Piscataway, and Great Island, holding meetings, and comforting the Friends in their distress. There was, then, a short suspension of arms; and while William Edmundson was at the house of Nicholas Shapley, a Friend of high standing, there came in fourteen lusty Indians, with their heads trimmed and their faces painted for war. When spoken to, they seemed churlish, and their countenances indicated a hostile purpose; but they left in the night, without offering injury to any. The next morning, William Edmundson went by water to Great Island, and was informed, soon after, that the Indians rose in arms and murdered about seventy persons; but he did not hear of one Friend murdered that night. After returning from the island he went to Salem, and other places, holding meetings. "I travelled," he says, "as with my life in my hand, leaving all to the Lord that rules in Heaven and earth."¹

Having heard of some religious people at Reading, he went with five or six Friends to visit them. They were at the house of an aged man, named Gould. The building was fortified; for in those parts most

¹ Journal of W. E., 90.

people, except Friends, lived in garrisons, for fear of the Indians. At the call of the Friends, the gates were opened; and, on entering, they found the family had been engaged in religious exercises. Wm. Edmundson said to them, "We come not to disturb you; for I love religion, and am seeking religious people." The Friends, being invited, took their seats with the family; and, after an interval of silence, William Edmundson said to them, "I have something in my heart to declare among you, if you will give me leave." The master of the house bade him to go on; and, "his heart being full of the word of life, he spoke to them of the mysteries of God's kingdom." At length he touched a little upon the priests, when the old man clapped him on the shoulder, and said, "I must stop you, for you have spoken against our ministers." After a pause, Wm. Edmundson replied, "I have many things to declare to you of the things of God; but, being in this house, I must have leave of the master of it." He was desired to proceed; which he did, "in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God," under the influence of which the hearts of the audience were touched, and they were broken into tears. He concluded the meeting with fervent prayer to the Lord; and the old man, rising up, took him in his arms, saying, "I own the truth of what you have said, and thank God that I can understand it. I have heard that you reject the Scriptures and deny Christ, who died for us, which is said to be the cause of the great difference between our ministers and you; but I understand to-day, that you own both Christ and the Scriptures, therefore I wish to know the reason of that difference." "Your ministers," replied William Edmund-

son, "are satisfied with the talk of Christ and the Scriptures; but we cannot be satisfied, without a sure, inward, divine knowledge of God and Christ, and the enjoyment of those comforts which the Scriptures declare that true believers enjoyed in the primitive times." The aged man replied, with tears, "These are the things I want." He pressed the Friends to remain and partake of food, which was then extremely scarce, because of the great destruction by the war. After accepting his proffered hospitality, they took leave of the family, in much affection.

At Boston, and in that vicinity, Wm. Edmundson had several meetings; and then went to Rhode Island by sea, in a small vessel belonging to Edward Whar-ton of Salem.

Friends of Rhode Island were then in much trouble on account of the ravages of the Indians in the neighborhood of Providence. The governor, Walter Clark, being a Friend, could not give commissions to kill men; but many of the inhabitants, not being of his persuasion, "were outrageous to fight." The coming of Wm. Edmundson was very opportune: the faithful and honest-hearted being strengthened by his counsel to remain steadfast in their religious testimonies.

During his stay on the island, the Indian war abated; King Philip being killed, and his party destroyed or subdued. Soon after, an epidemic disease prevailed, which occasioned great mortality. There were few families on the island that did not lose some of their members, after two or three days' sickness. Wm. Edmundson was assiduous in his attentions to the sick, and was himself taken with the

disease; but, through divine mercy, he recovered, and was enabled to resume his travels.

Accompanied by James Fletcher, a Friend in the ministry, he embarked in a sloop for New York; and, after touching at Shelter island, they were driven by stress of weather to New London.

Near that city, they visited a company of Seventh-day Baptists, and found them assembled, together with their negro servants, for divine worship, sitting in silence. The Friends, being invited, sat down with them; and William Edmundson, after a suitable pause, inquired, "Why they kept the Seventh day as a Sabbath?" They said, "It was strictly commanded in the Old Testament." He asked, "If we were obliged to keep all the law of Moses?" They answered, "No; but the keeping of the Sabbath seemed to be more required than the rest of the law; for the priests often blamed the Jews for breaking the Sabbath, more than any other part of the law." He told them, "They were under a mistake; for they might find, that our Saviour, Jesus Christ, when he was in the flesh, did many things which the Jews accounted a breach of the Sabbath; as, healing people on the Sabbath-day; travelling with his disciples, who plucked ears of corn; and doing many things on the Sabbath with which the Jews were highly offended." He opened the Scriptures to them, showing "that Christ had ended the Law of the Old Covenant, and was the rest of his people; and that all must know rest, quietness, and peace in him."

They asked for his views on water baptism, and the breaking of bread. He showed them, "That John, who had the ordinance of water baptism, said he baptized with water, but Christ should baptize them with

fire and the Holy Ghost; that his must decrease, and Christ's must increase." He further observed, that seventeen hundred years being nearly elapsed since that declaration was made, it was a question for them to consider, how far water baptism was decreased, and when it would be at an end, and Christ's baptism fully established. There is but "one faith and one baptism; Christ is the substance of all these things, and his body is the bread of life that we must all feed upon." Thus he declared to them the way of truth "in the openings of life," and concluded the meeting in fervent prayer to God.

William Edmundson had for some time been deeply exercised under an impression of religious duty to visit Hartford in Connecticut, but the way being through a wilderness infested with Indians then in arms, and killing many Christians, he was reluctant to encounter the perils of the journey. Being detained by head winds, and burdened with a religious concern, he at length "gave up to the will of God, whether to live or to die." Accompanied by James Fletcher, he accomplished the journey without molestation from the Indians; but met with a rough reception from the rigid Puritans, who were assembled for Divine worship, guarded by fire-arms.¹

Having returned in safety from this perilous journey, they attended meetings on Long Island, where Friends were much annoyed with a company of Ranters, who came into their meetings singing and dancing. One of them had his face blacked, saying it was his justification and sanctification. William Edmundson was, through divine aid, enabled to bear an effectual testimony against this woful delusion, and

¹ Wm. Edmundson's Journal, 100.

Friends were comforted with the evident extension of divine regard.

Pursuing their journey, they passed through New Jersey to the Falls of Delaware, and crossing the river, they passed down on its western bank to Upland, since called Chester, where they had a meeting at the house of Robert Wade. Thence they proceeded to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where they had many meetings, and then crossed the Bay to the Western Shore.

Having finished their service in Maryland, they went in a boat to Virginia, and, it being then winter, they suffered much from sleet and snow. The people of Virginia were then engaged in hostilities with the Indians, and in a civil war among themselves. The aborigines had doubtless been wronged by the aggressions of the whites; a war ensued, and during its progress, six of the hostile chieftains, who presented themselves as messengers to treat of peace, were barbarously murdered by the colonial troops. The exasperated savages "roamed from plantation to plantation, from the vicinity of Mount Vernon to the Falls of James River, carrying terror to every grange in the province; murdering, in blind fury, till their passions were glutted; and for each one of their chiefs ten of the English had been slain."¹

The people, being dissatisfied with the measures of Governor Berkeley, both in civil and military affairs, rose in rebellion, and having for their leader, Nathaniel Bacon, a rich and talented planter, they prevailed for a time against the government, and prosecuted with vigor the war against the Indians.

¹ Bancroft, II. 216.

Jamestown, the capital of Virginia, was burnt by the insurgents under Bacon, and for awhile the administration of the government was in their hands; but their leader being cut off by disease, his party was disheartened and subdued. Several of the insurgents were executed, others were fined in large sums; but Friends in Virginia were highly commended for keeping clear of the contest.¹

During these troubles, William Edmundson travelled in the province, holding meetings and visiting Friends in their scattered habitations. He had many precious meetings for the worship of God, and assisted Friends in their meetings for discipline. He found many unruly spirits among them, but through the divine blessing, his labors were successful in promoting the cause of Truth.

He had a prospect of religious service in Carolina, but Friends endeavored to dissuade him from going thither, telling him of several that were murdered by the Indians on the route to that province. He delayed some time, hoping the concern would be removed from him; but at length the command appeared to be imperative from Him who has all lives in his hand, and he made ready for his journey. His travelling companion, James Fletcher, having some time before left him, an elderly Friend agreed to supply his place, being the only man who durst venture with him on that perilous journey. They were two days passing through the wilderness. The first house they visited in Carolina was that of James Hall, who was lying on his bed sick with the ague. William Edmundson had known him in Ireland, and on presenting himself suddenly before him, the sick

¹ Wm. Edmundson's Journal, 112.

man was so surprised and delighted that the ague left him, and he arose with alacrity to receive his welcome guest, with whom he travelled during the remainder of his stay in Carolina. Concerning this visit William Edmundson writes in his journal, "I had several precious meetings in that colony, and several turned to the Lord. People were tender and loving, there was no room for the priests (viz., hirelings), for Friends were fairly settled, and I left things well among them. When I was clear of that service, we returned to Virginia, safe under the Lord's protection. Praises to his name forever more!"

Finding an English ship in the Elizabeth river, he took passage in her for Bristol, and after attending some meetings in England, he returned to his home in Ireland with the reward of peace.¹

About the year 1678, John Boweter visited the meetings of Friends in Virginia, but no particular account of his labors has been preserved. The Friends in that province being subjected to many trials, received the sympathy of their brethren on the eastern shore of Maryland, as appears by the following minute dated 24th of Tenth month, 1680: "The sad estate and condition of the church in Virginia being seriously considered by this meeting, it is the sense of the meeting they should be visited for their good by such Friends as find a concern on their minds; upon which William Berry and Stephen Keddy finding themselves concerned in that service, signified the same to the meeting, which the meeting doth well approve of."²

Although we have no account that any Friends engaged in the ministry had yet visited South Caro-

¹ W. Edmundson's Journal.

² MS. Record Third Haven.

lina, there was at Perquimons, in that province, a Monthly meeting of Friends. There may have been more than one meeting, for in the year 1681 George Fox wrote in one of his epistles, "If you of Ashley river and that way, and you of Albemarle river and that way, had once a-year, or once in a half-year, a meeting together, somewhere in the middle of the country, it might be well."¹ In both North and South Carolina, Friends enjoyed complete toleration for their religious principles and worship.

George Fox, who watched with paternal interest the progress of Friends in the American colonies, frequently wrote to them letters of advice and exhortation. The following epistle was addressed :

To Friends in Charlestown, Carolina.

"Dear Friends, of the Monthly meeting of Charlestown in Ashley Cooper river, in Carolina, I received your letter dated the 6th day of the Eighth month, 1682; wherein you give an account of your meeting, and of the country, and of your liberty in that province; which I am glad to hear of, though your meeting is but small. But, however, stand all faithful in truth and righteousness, that your fruits may be unto holiness, and your end will be everlasting life.

"My desire is that you may prize your liberty, both natural and spiritual, and the favor that the Lord hath given you, that your yea is taken instead of an oath, and that you do serve both in assemblies, juries, and other offices, without swearing, according to the doctrine of Christ, which is a great thing, worth prizing. And take heed of abusing that liberty, or losing the savor of the heavenly salt, which seasons

¹ Bowden's History of Friends in America, I. 413.

your lives and conversations in truth, holiness, and righteousness; for you know when the salt hath lost its savor, it is good for nothing but to be trodden under the foot of men.

“My love to you all in Christ Jesus. The Lord God Almighty preserve and keep you all holy, pure, and clean to his glory.

“G. Fox.”

LONDON, *the 23d of the Twelfth month, 1683.*¹

From his correspondents in the colonies, Geo. Fox frequently received encouraging accounts of their progress, both in temporal and spiritual concerns. The following letter from John Archdale, an opulent Friend from England, and one of the eight proprietaries of North Carolina, then residing in the colony, will be read with interest:

“NORTH CAROLINA, *25th of First month, 1686.*

“DEAR AND HIGHLY-ESTEEMED FRIEND:

“I have written unto thee formerly, but as yet have received no answer, which makes me doubt the miscarriage of mine; and indeed for the present we have not immediate opportunities to send to England, by reason there is no settled trade thither; which, notwithstanding, may be effected in proper season; there being commodities, as tobacco, oil, hides, and tallow, to transport thither; and Holland’s Busses of about one hundred and fifty tons, drawing about nine feet water, may come in safety.

“The country produces plentifully all things necessary for the life of man, with as little labor as any I have known; it wants only industrious people, fearing God. We at present have peace with all the

¹ Bowden’s History, I. 414.

nations of the Indians; and the great king of the Tuscaroras was not long since with me, having had an Indian slain in these parts: he was informed it was by the English, but upon inquiry I found out the murderer, who was a Chowan Indian, one of their great men's sons, whom I immediately ordered to be apprehended; but the Chowan Indians bought his life of the Tuscarora king for a great quantity of wamp and bage. This Tuscarora king was very desirous to cut off a nation of Indians called the Matchepungoes; which I have at present prevented, and hope I shall have the country at peace with all the Indians, and one with another. The people are very fearful of falling into some troubles again, if I should leave them before my brother Sothel returns, which makes my stay the longer. This Tuscarora king seems to be a very wise man, as to natural parts; some of the Indians near me are so civilized as to come into English habits, and have cattle of their own, and I look upon their outward civilizing as a good preparation for the gospel, which God in his season, without doubt, will cause to dawn among them: I wish all that had it had been faithful, then had the day broken forth in its splendor as it began. I am sure God forsakes none but the unfaithful, who by disobedience are cut off; whereas the obedient come to be grafted into the true stock, through the growth of the holy seed in their minds and hearts. . .

“JOHN ARCHDALE.”¹

From the tenor of this letter, it may be inferred that the writer was then acting as Deputy-governor in the place of Seth Sothel, a co-proprietor, who had

¹ Bowden, I. 415.

been appointed governor by the proprietors in England. Some years later, Archdale was chosen governor, and filled the station with distinguished success, as will be related in the progress of this work.¹

In the province of Maryland, Friends were subjected to much inconvenience, and sometimes to heavy losses and fines, by their conscientious refusal to swear. At the foundation of the colony, it appears to have been the intention of the proprietor, Lord Baltimore, to secure to all religious persuasions a free toleration; but no provision was made for the relief or security of those who believed that oaths were forbidden under the gospel dispensation. In the year 1673, William Penn had used his influence with Lord Baltimore on behalf of Friends in Maryland, and with some prospect of success;² but eight years afterwards, they presented to the Proprietary and General Assembly a statement of their sufferings and a petition for relief. In this document they state that Friends, when summoned to give evidence in court, on their declining the oath, were liable to be taken under a writ of rebellion, causing the ruin of their estates, and the impoverishment of their wives and children. They were, for the same reason, rendered incapable of serving as executors or administrators, and prevented from engaging in commerce with foreign countries, as they could not, without an oath, enter their goods at the custom-house. Their petition being delivered by William Berry and Richard Johns, was favorably received by the lower House of the Assembly, and a bill was passed for their relief; but, in the upper House, it was rejected.

¹ See Bancroft's U. S. III. 16.

² Janney's Life of Penn, 106.

In the year 1688, Lord Baltimore published a proclamation, by which he declared his resolution to dispense with oaths in testamentary cases. This act of justice was gratefully acknowledged by an address to the Proprietary, from the Quarterly Meeting of Friends, held at Herring creek, the 7th of Ninth month, 1688.¹

For some years previous to this date, it was not unusual for the estates of Friends deceased to be inspected and settled by committees appointed by the meetings for church discipline. This practice probably originated from their conscientious scruples against taking the oath required of executors and administrators. The old records of the meetings contain many minutes relating to the settlement of estates and the division of property. One of these entries, dated 23d of Fifth month, 1680, relates to the estate of Wenlock Christison, whose imprisonment and courageous defence at Boston are familiar to the reader. On the records of a monthly meeting held at a private house, near Third-Haven, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, an inventory of his estate is entered, together with the bond of his widow, Elizabeth Christison, who, being about to marry again, and having the property in possession, binds herself to pay the debts and legacies.

Among the effects of deceased Friends, about this date, negroes are frequently mentioned, for they had not then been convinced of the inconsistency of slave-holding with the precepts of Christ and the spirit of the gospel. The division of an estate between Walter and Rachel Dickenson, in 1683, is

¹ Besse.

recorded on the meeting books. In the inventory of property assigned to Walter is this item: "1 negro man at £20, 1 warming-pan, 1 old looking-glass, 1 pair andirons, 1 gun. . . . £20 16s. 0d."

To Rachel was also assigned, besides other goods, "1 negro man, 1 warming-pan, 1 old looking-glass, and 1 gun. . . . £20 13s. 0d."

One of the most remarkable entries in the old records is a minute dated 26th of Ninth month, 1702, at Dividing Ridge, relating to the last will of Alice Kennersly, who bequeathed "her negro woman Betty and her child to Dan. Cox, in consideration y^e he should pay twenty shillings annually for the full term of thirty years to this meeting, for y^e paying of travelling Friends' ferriage in Dorchester county, or whatever other occasions Friends may see meet, when said negroes are delivered to Dan. Cox; therefore this meeting advises Dan. Cox to be at our next monthly meeting to answer such questions as may be asked him concerning the premises."¹

The gradual development and final triumph of Friends' testimony against slavery, will be related in the sequel; it presents one of the most beautiful and instructive features in the history of the society.

The early Records of Friends' meetings at Third-Haven and West River, show the care exercised by the society in providing for the poor, assisting immigrants on their arrival, promoting justice and punctuality among their members, directing the proper solemnization of marriages, and dealing with offenders. In relation to all these points except the

¹ MSS. Records, Third-Haven.

last, their conduct appears to have been worthy of their Christian profession.

It is to be regretted that, in one particular, they enacted a rule of discipline that can in nowise be defended. "At a yearly meeting held at 'Trade-Haven' creek,' 9th of Eighth month, 1688, the following minute was adopted and recorded. 'The sense and advice of this meeting is, that if any Friend's child does proceed and marry contrary to their parents' consent or knowledge, not to give them any part of their estate; but to let such suffer unless Friends that are concerned concur with Friends of the Quarterly Meeting about it, and they in the wisdom of God see meet otherwise to order it. It is also the sense of this meeting that priests or magistrates that do marry Friends' children without their parents' or guardian's consent, should be prosecuted.'"²

When a religious society undertakes to control its members in the distribution of their estates, directing that children shall be disinherited for an infringement of its rules, it is an unwarrantable exercise of ecclesiastical power that must impair its vitality and hasten its decay.

¹ Afterwards called Third-Haven.

² MSS. Records.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA.

1676-90.

HITHERTO the peaceable principles of Christianity, as believed and practised by the Society of Friends, had been illustrated more frequently by suffering for conscience' sake, than by active measures in civil government; but in the year 1676, William Penn, with other Friends, became concerned in the government of New Jersey, and a few years subsequently founded the colony of Pennsylvania, which presented the society in a new and more pleasing aspect. By this means an opportunity was afforded to carry out in practice those liberal views in regard to freedom of conscience, and those benign principles of peace and good-will to men, professed by Friends from their first rise, which they assuredly believed were not only the fruits of the spirit of Christ, but the surest evidence of his reign in the hearts of mankind.

The first settlement of New Jersey has already been related.¹ After it had been eleven years under the government of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, one-half of it was sold by Berkeley, in the year 1675, to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. One-tenth of this half was retained by Fenwick, and the remaining nine-tenths transferred, at the request of Byllinge, to William Penn,

¹ See Chap. XI.

Gawan Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, trustees for the benefit of his creditors.

John Fenwick had been a major of cavalry in the army of the Parliament during the civil war; he afterwards joined in profession with Friends, and in the year 1675 led a colony to New Jersey.¹ As the ship proceeded up the river Delaware, they were attracted by "a pleasant rich spot," at which they landed, and being pleased with the quietness and repose of the scene, they gave to their settlement the name of Salem. The Indians were then numerous in that neighborhood, and soon after the arrival of Fenwick, he convened the chiefs, with whom he contracted for the purchase of their right and title to the lands now included in Salem and Cumberland counties. It is mournful to reflect that among the articles of merchandise given to the natives in exchange for their lands, there were included more than 300 gallons of rum.² The colonists themselves, not having yet seen the propriety of abstaining from intoxicating drinks as a beverage, were probably not aware of the fearful scourge they were introducing among the simple children of nature. It was but a few years after this, when the Friends settled in New Jersey adopted measures to prevent the sale of rum to the Indians.³

Shortly after the arrival of the colonists, who were mostly Friends, they established in Salem a meeting for divine worship, to be held twice in the week, and a meeting for church discipline to be held monthly.

During the first five years of their residence, they held their religious meetings in private houses. In

¹ Johnson's Hist. of Salem, Phila. 1839.

² Ibid.

³ MS. Book of Advices.

1680 they purchased a house of Samuel Nicholson, and fitted it up for a place of meeting.¹

John Fenwick, before he left England, having obtained a sum of money from John Eldridge and Edmund Warner, gave them as security for the debt a lease for 1000 years on his share of the province, with power for them to sell as much land as would repay their advances. Notwithstanding this lien, Fenwick proceeded to dispose of the land to others, which occasioned dissatisfaction to his creditors, and involved him in trouble during the few remaining years of his life. He died at his plantation in Upper Marmington about the year 1683, leaving his "three favorite grandsons," Fenwick Adams, Samuel Hedge, jr., and John Champneys, under the guardianship of William Penn.²

In the mean time the three trustees of Byllinge, Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas, sold and transferred shares in the Province to a number of other Friends, who thus became joint proprietors with them. In the year 1676, a division of the province was made, and deeds of partition executed, assigning to George Carteret that part which lay next to New York, under the title of "New East Jersey," and to Byllinge, Penn, and others, the part bordering on the Delaware called "New West Jersey," the line being drawn from the East side of Little Egg Harbor, straight north through the country to the utmost branch of Delaware river.*

In order to promote the settlement of West New Jer-

¹ Johnson's Hist. Salem. "The brick meeting-house at the grave-yard was built in 1700, at a cost of 415 pounds; which proving too small, they purchased ground and erected another house in 1672."—Michener's Retrospect.

² Johnson's Hist. of Salem.

^{*} Smith's New Jersey, 80.

sey, a constitution was drawn up by Penn and his associates, and signed by one hundred and fifty-one persons interested in the colony. It is entitled, "concessions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the province of West New Jersey in America."

The trustees, and some others of the proprietors, wrote to Richard Hartshorne of East New Jersey, requesting his consent to be joined in commission with two others — Richard Guy of the same province, and James Wasse, who went from England for that purpose. These commissioners were authorized and requested to purchase lands of the Indians, and make other arrangements for the infant colony. The proprietors, not being satisfied with the location that Fenwick had chosen for a first settlement, requested the commissioners to select another, on some convenient creek or river.¹

In the letter to Hartshorne, they thus refer to the constitution they had adopted: "There we lay a foundation for after-ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people — that is to say, they to meet and choose for each propriety [or district] one honest man, who hath subscribed to the concessions: all these men to meet as an assembly there, to make and repeal laws, to choose a governor or a commissioner and twelve assistants to execute the laws during their pleasure; so every man is capable to choose or be chosen. No man to be arrested, condemned, imprisoned, or molested in his estate or liberty, but by

¹ Smith's New Jersey, 82.

twelve men of the neighborhood. No man to lie in prison for debt; but that his estate satisfy, as far as it will go, and [he] be set at liberty to work. No person to be called in question or molested for his conscience, or for worshipping according to his conscience. With many more things, mentioned in the said concessions."¹

In an epistle to Friends, issued about the same time by the trustees, and evidently written by William Penn, reference is made to "the Description of New West Jersey" recently published by them; and a caution is given to all who may be disposed to join the colony, that they weigh the matter well, and obtain the concurrence of their friends, before they embark in the enterprise. It was apprehended, that some might go "out of a curious and unsettled mind, and others to shun the testimony of the blessed cross of Jesus;" therefore they were recommended to seek counsel of the Lord; for "blessed are they that can see and behold him, their leader, their orderer, their conductor and preserver, in staying or going: whose is the earth and the fulness thereof, and the cattle upon a thousand hills."

Among the purchasers in West New Jersey were two companies of Friends—the one from Yorkshire, the other from London, — each of which contracted for a considerable tract of land. In the year 1677 nine commissioners were appointed by the proprietors, and authorized to buy the land of the natives, to apportion it among the purchasers, and to administer the government. They took passage, with other emigrants — numbering in all 230 — in the ship *Kent*,

¹ Smith's New Jersey, 80.

and arrived at New Castle the sixteenth of the Sixth month, O. S. 1677. Proceeding up the Delaware to a point near Racoon creek, the passengers were landed on the Jersey shore, where the Swedes had "some scattering habitations," but not sufficient to accommodate them all: so that many had to take up their abode in sheds and stables, or build huts after the Indian fashion.

The commissioners proceeded up the river to a place called Chigoe's Island, from the name of an Indian sachem who lived there. With the assistance of some Swedes for interpreters, they purchased of the Indians three tracts of land: the first extending from Timber creek to Rancocas creek; the second, from Oldman's creek to Timber creek; and the third, from Rancocas creek to Assumpink. "But when they had agreed upon this last purchase, they had not Indian goods sufficient to pay the consideration, yet gave them what they had to get the deed signed, and agreed not to settle on it until the remainder was paid."¹

The Yorkshire commissioners, Joseph Helmsley, William Emley, and Robert Stacy, chose on behalf of their company the upper portion of the land relinquished by the Indians, extending north to the falls of the Delaware. The London commissioners, John Penford, Thos. Olive, D. Wills, and Benj. Scott, chose for their portion a tract of land lower down the river, in the neighborhood where Gloucester now stands. This location being thought too remote from the other, it was agreed between the two companies that they would settle near each other, in a town. They

¹ Smith, 96.

accordingly employed a surveyor, who, "after the main street was ascertained, divided the land on each side into lots; the easternmost among the Yorkshire proprietors, the other among the Londoners." The town was first called New Beverley, then Bridlington, and finally Burlington.¹

The next ship that came, was called the *Willing Mind*; she arrived from London in November of the same year, and brought sixty or seventy passengers, some of whom settled at Salem, and others at Burlington. The third arrival, and the last in the year 1677, was the *Martha*, of Burlington, Yorkshire. She sailed from Hull, and brought one hundred and fourteen passengers.

The colonists, in writing to their friends in England, described their new country as being blessed with a fine climate, good water, and abundance of fruit, fish, fowl, and venison. They speak of the Indian corn, which was new to them, as "a good serviceable grain," and they mention the kindness of their Indian neighbors, who often supplied them with food.²

In the year 1678, two more ships arrived with passengers, and during these two years, the whole number of immigrants that arrived in West New Jersey, amounted to about eight hundred.

On landing upon the shores of the New World, one of the first objects that claimed the attention of Friends, was the establishment of meetings for worship, where they offered up grateful thanksgiving to the Author of all good, who had given them a coun-

¹ Smith, 98, 99.

² Smith, 105, 108, and Proud's Pa. I. 148.

try blessed with so many natural advantages, and had delivered them from the shackles of ecclesiastical tyranny. At Burlington, their religious meetings were at first held under a tent covered with sail-cloth, until John Woolston built his house, which was the first frame house erected there. At his house, and that of Thomas Gardiner, they continued to hold their meetings, both for worship and discipline, until 1696, when a suitable meeting-house was built. The subjects that claimed the attention of their meetings for discipline, were the care and assistance of the poor, the discouraging of their people from selling rum to the Indians, and the proper solemnization of marriages. It is related that thirteen couples were married at Burlington before the year 1681.¹

Among the early settlers in West Jersey, were several who appeared in public ministry; namely, William Peachy and John Butcher, from London, Samuel Jennings from Aylesbury, John Skein from Scotland, and Thomas Olive from Northamptonshire.

Meetings for worship were established at Burlington in 1677, at Rancocas, 1681, at Old Springfield in 1682, all of which belonged to Burlington Monthly meeting. A meeting for worship was held on First-day at Chesterfield, in 1677; it became an established meeting in 1680, and a Monthly meeting for discipline in 1684.²

The first general Yearly meeting of Friends in New Jersey, was held at Burlington on the 28th of the Sixth month, 1681. It was constituted of the meetings belonging to Burlington Monthly meeting, together with those of Salem and Shrewsbury, and

¹ Proud, I. 158-9, and Smith.

² Michener's Retrospect.

some small meetings on the western bank of the Delaware, settled before the arrival of Penn.¹

The proprietors of West New Jersey having commissioned Edward Byllinge as governor, he appointed Samuel Jennings for his deputy, who called an Assembly of representatives, and with them agreed upon a constitution, defining the powers and duties of the governor and Assembly, and guaranteeing freedom of conscience to every inhabitant. In addition to the constitution, thirty-six laws were enacted by the Assembly during a session of one week, thus evincing remarkable harmony and diligence. Samuel Jennings was subsequently elected governor by the General Assembly; and Thomas Olive, another prominent Friend, also served in that station several years.

Sir George Carteret, sole proprietor of East New Jersey, having died in 1679, his interest in the territory and government was sold, in the year 1681, to William Penn, Thomas Rudyard, Ambrose Rigge, and nine others; who were thence called the twelve proprietors. In the following year they took each a partner, among whom were James Earl of Perth, and Robert Barclay, thus increasing the number of proprietors to twenty-four.

A council of proprietors, to consist of at least one-third of the general proprietors, or their proxies, was established for the government of the colony, to meet semi-annually at Perth Amboy. Robert Barclay was appointed governor for life, and he commissioned Thomas Rudyard as his deputy, who reached the colony in the latter part of the year 1683. The principal settlements in East New Jersey at that time, were Middletown, Shrewsbury, Woodbridge, Eliza-

¹ Smith's Hist. of Pa.

bethtown, Newark and Bergen.¹ Thomas Rudyard governed a very short time, being succeeded by Gawen Laurie, as deputy under Robert Barclay.

In a letter from Laurie to the proprietors in London, he speaks in the highest terms of the country, saying, nothing is wanted but people. "There is not a poor body in all the province, nor one that wants. Here is abundance of provisions; pork and beef at two pence per pound; fish and fowl plenty; oysters, I think would serve all England; wheat, four shillings sterling per bushel; Indian wheat [corn], two shillings and sixpence per bushel; it is exceeding good food every way, and two or three hundred fold increase; cider, good and plenty, for one penny per quart; good drink that is made of water and molasses, stands in about two shillings per barrel, wholesome, like our eight shilling beer in England; good venison plenty, brought us at eighteen pence the quarter; eggs at three pence per dozen; all things very plenty; land very good as ever I saw; vines, walnuts, peaches, strawberries, and many other things plenty in the woods."

A letter from John Barclay and Arthur Forbes, addressed to the Scots proprietors, confirms the statements of Laurie, and adds some interesting particulars. "The people," they say, "are of several sorts of religion, but few very zealous." They were mostly from New England. In every town they had a meeting-house, and were generally Congregationalists; but their preachers, with one exception, followed some secular employment.

After the arrival of the Friends in considerable numbers, they exercised a salutary influence in the

¹ Smith's N. Jersey.

government of the colony. In the year 1686, a law was passed, which indicates that there had been some acts of violence among the inhabitants. It declares that several persons had received abuses, and were put in great terror from quarrels and challenges; it was, therefore, enacted that any person giving, conveying, or accepting a challenge, should be subjected to fine and imprisonment; and all persons were prohibited, under severe penalties, from wearing pocket-pistols, daggers, swords, or other warlike weapons.¹

While the Friends in New Jersey were assiduously engaged in clearing, planting, and building, they were careful to maintain their religious meetings, and were occasionally encouraged by the religious labors of ministering Friends from abroad. Between the years 1678 and 1681, John Haydock, Solomon Eccles, John Stubbs, Benjamin Brown, and John Hayton, from England, and Jacob Tillnor from Holland, all passed through these provinces; and their services in the gospel of Christ were well accepted.

In the year 1684, John Skein, a native of Scotland, died in West New Jersey. He was nearly two years governor of that province, and was an exemplary and useful member of the Society of Friends, having a gift in the gospel ministry in which his services were highly esteemed.

The colonization of Pennsylvania having been circumstantially narrated in another work, to which the reader is referred,² it is deemed unnecessary to enter again into all the particulars of that interesting enterprise, regarded by Penn as a "holy experiment;"

¹ Smith's N. J. 194.

² Janney's Life of W. Penn.

but it cannot be entirely omitted here, inasmuch as it embraces an important part of the history of Friends, and affords a successful exemplification of Christian principles, unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

In the spring of 1681, Wm. Penn received from Charles II. a charter for the territory now called Pennsylvania, which was then a wilderness in possession of the Indians, except a few small settlements of English, Dutch, and Swedes, near the river Delaware. He afterwards obtained from the Duke of York a grant of the territory which has since received the name of Delaware. In the same year, two ships with emigrants sailed for the colony. The following year, Penn, accompanied by a considerable number of Friends, took passage in the ship *Welcome*, Greenway master, and arrived at Uplands (now Chester), on the 24th of October, 1682.

Before his departure from England, Penn, in conjunction with several Friends who had agreed to purchase lands and emigrate to the province, drew up a constitution and code of laws, intended to be submitted to the colonists for their approval. This frame of government was based upon the most liberal principles, the legislative power being placed in the people, or their representatives, annual elections by ballot provided, and religious as well as civil liberty fully secured. The executive power, in conformity with the charter, was lodged in the hands of the Proprietary, who could exercise it in person, or entrust it to a deputy. Soon after his arrival, Governor Penn proceeded to the site chosen by his commissioners for the city of Philadelphia. He was well pleased with the location, and was greeted by the

colonists with hearty affection. The date of his arrival is noted in the following minute of a Friends' meeting held at Fairman's mansion, Shackamaxon (Kensington):

"At a Monthly meeting, the 8th of the Ninth month (November), 1682. At this time Governor Penn and a multitude of Friends arrived here, and erected a city called Philadelphia, about half a mile from Shackamaxon, where meetings were established, etc. Thomas Fairman, at the request of the governor, removed himself and family to Tacony, where there was also a meeting appointed to be kept, and this ancient meeting of Shackamaxon removed to Philadelphia."¹

In the latter part of the same month, Wm. Penn held his celebrated treaty with the Indians, usually spoken of as the "Great treaty." It does not appear to have been held for the purpose of purchasing land, but of establishing amicable relations with the aborigines; and so completely successful did it prove, that its provisions were never violated. The chain of friendship then formed between the Friends and the Indians remains unbroken to this day; and the intercourse between them, which then commenced, is one of the most beautiful examples of long-abiding confidence to be found in the history of the world.²

The first General Assembly of the province was convened about six weeks after the arrival of Penn, and continued in session only four days. During that brief space of time, the constitution agreed upon in England was amended and adopted, the proposed

¹ Watson's Annals, I. 140.

² For an account of the Treaty, see Janney's Life of Penn, 211.

code of laws was passed with some additions, and the three lower counties which now form the State of Delaware, then called the territories, were, at the request of the people, annexed to the government of Pennsylvania, and secured in the enjoyment of the same privileges.

The first section of the code asserts that "God only is Lord of conscience," and declares that no person "who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that professes him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientiousness, persuasion, or practice." . . . "But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretence of conscience, in this province: Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of the creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their common toil and labor, that, whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of truth at home, or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions."

Previous to the meeting of the assembly, William Penn had visited New York, Long Island, East and West Jersey; and, after its adjournment, he went to West river, in Maryland. These visits were made, in part, for the purpose of attending to public business, but he availed himself of the opportunity to attend the meetings of Friends, in which "he had good and

eminent service for the Lord.”¹ Writing to a friend, he says, “As to outward things, we are satisfied: the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are here white for harvest. O, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woful Europe!” “Blessed be the Lord! that of twenty-three ships none miscarried; only two or three had the small-pox, else healthy and swift passages generally, such as have not been known—some but twenty-eight days, and few longer than six weeks. Blessed be God for it! who is good to us, and follows us with his abundant kindness. My soul fervently breathes, that in his heavenly guiding wisdom we may be kept, that we may serve him in our day, and lay down our heads in peace.”

In the summer of 1683, William Penn made two purchases of land from the Indians, the deeds for which are on record. During three years commencing with 1682, ships with emigrants arrived from London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c., to the number of fifty sail.”²

So great was the number of settlers, that the land bordering on the Delaware, from the Falls down to Chester, was peopled very rapidly, and a considerable addition was also made to the population of the lower counties. The first colonists, and those who followed them for a number of years, were generally in membership with Friends or convinced of their principles,

¹ Letter in Janney's *Life of Penn*, 223.

² Proud, I. 219.

and many of them had in their native land suffered much on account of their religion. They were mostly husbandmen, tradesmen, and mechanics; some were good scholars, but generally their education was quite limited; and their manners were simple, hearty, and unceremonious. Many of them had good estates, and came provided with all that was supposed to be needful for their comfort in a new country. Some brought with them frames of houses, ready to be set up; others built cabins of logs, and covered them with clapboards. While building their houses, they lived in huts, covered with bark; and some of the poorer class made excavations, called caves, in the bank of the Delaware, which served for temporary dwellings.

The city of Philadelphia increased with a rapidity then rarely equalled; and a considerable commerce soon sprang up, which brought to her wharves the commodities of foreign climes.

The Friends, soon after their arrival, were careful to establish, in every neighborhood, meetings for divine worship, where they offered up grateful thanks to the Father of Spirits for the many blessings they enjoyed. In a letter to their brethren of Great Britain, written in the spring of 1683, they give the following account of their meetings:—

“In Pennsylvania, there is one at Falls, one at the governor’s house [Pennsbury], one at Colchester river—all in the county of Bucks; one at Tacony, one at Philadelphia—both in that county; one at Darby at John Blaunston’s, one at Chester, one at Ridley at J. Simcock’s, and one at William Rouse’s at Chichester, in Cheshire. There be three Monthly meetings of men and women, for truth’s service: in the county of Chester one, in the

county of Philadelphia another, and in the county of Bucks another. And [we] intend a Yearly meeting in the Third month next. Here our care is, as it was in our native land, that we may serve the Lord's truth and people." . . . "And for our condition as men, blessed be God! we are satisfied; the countries are good — the land, the water, and the air — room enough for many thousands to live plentifully, and the back-lands much the best; good increase of labor, all sorts of grain, provision sufficient, and by reason of many giving themselves to husbandry there is likely to be great fruitfulness in some time. But they that come upon a mere outward account must work, or be able to maintain such as can. Fowl, fish, and venison, are plentiful; and of pork and beef no want, considering that about two thousand people came into this river last year.

"Dear friends and brethren, we have no cause to murmur, our lot is fallen every way in a goodly place, and the love of God is, and growing, among us, and we are a family at peace within ourselves, and truly great is our joy therefor."¹

In the year 1683, many Friends from Pennsylvania were in attendance at the Yearly meeting held at Burlington. The records of this meeting show that a proposition was brought forward to establish a

¹ MSS. Am. Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. This letter, dated 17th of First month, 1683, was signed by William Penn, Samuel Jennings, Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, John Ken- nel, Robert Stacy, Isaac Marriot, Arthur Cook, William Frampton, John Southworth, William Yardley, John Simcock, Thomas Fitz- water, Lewis David, Henry Lewis, William Howell, Thomas Winn, Benjamin Chambers, Thomas Brassey, John Songhurst, Griffith Jones, William Clayton, Robert Wade, Thomas Duckett, Nicholas Waln, John Blunson.

“General Yearly meeting for all the provinces northward as far as New England, and southward as far as Carolina.” In order to effect this purpose, William Penn, Christopher Taylor, Samuel Jennings, James Harrison, Thomas Olive, and Mahlon Stacy, were appointed to correspond with Friends in the several provinces. Another Yearly meeting was held at Philadelphia in the following month. In 1684 the two Yearly meetings were again held at Burlington and Philadelphia. The latter was attended by appointments from Rhode Island, and from the Quarterly meetings of Choptank and Herring Creek, in Maryland. In an epistle from that meeting to Friends in England, they say, “We are to send an epistle to Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and all thereaway; also the other way to New England and Rhode Island, that it may be presented to them, if possible from these remote provinces, they may send two or three from each province to our Yearly meeting here, being as a centre or middle place, that so communion and blessed union may be preserved among all.” The same epistle continues, “At the two aforementioned meetings we had such a blessed harmony together, that we may say that we knew not that there was a jarring string among us. A great multitude came of many hundreds, and the gospel bell made a most glorious sound.”¹

The two Yearly meetings were held in 1685, at Burlington and Philadelphia; but at the latter it was concluded that thereafter the Friends of New Jersey and Pennsylvania should constitute only one Yearly meeting, to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia. The proposition to hold, at Philadel-

¹ Michener's Retrospect of Quakerism.

phia, a General Yearly meeting for all the provinces did not meet with general favor, and was never adopted by the meetings most remote. In so extensive a country, a single Yearly meeting, although in a central location, would have been attended by only a small portion of the members, and could not have supplied the place of the Yearly meetings in the several provinces. If it was intended to be a federal body, composed of delegates from the several Yearly meetings, the effect of thus concentrating the legislative power must have been injurious. The invariable result of ecclesiastical sway, long continued in the hands of a few, has been to elevate them to undue importance, and depress the great body of the people.

The most beautiful feature in the organization of Friends' meetings, is the right accorded to every member to express his views and feelings; but this right is only available when the Yearly meeting, the highest tribunal of the body, is within the reach of all. A regular correspondence between the several Yearly meetings, and frequent visits of their members to each other, is highly advantageous, by strengthening the bonds of union and encouraging one another to love and good works.

William Penn, having spent nearly two years in America, and seen the foundation laid for a prosperous colony, embarked for England in the summer of 1684. Previous to his departure, he addressed a letter to the members of his own religious society in Pennsylvania, replete with excellent advice, and breathing the spirit of love to God and man. "The earth," he says, "is the Lord's; his presence fills it, and his power upholds it; and it is a precious thing

to enjoy and use it in the sense and feeling of the same; truly this honor have all the saints to whom he will give it for a quiet habitation. Have a care of cumber, and the love and care of the world. It is the temptation that lieth nearest to those who are redeemed from looseness, or not addicted to it. The moon, the figure of the changeable world, is under the foot of the true woman, whose seed we ought to approve ourselves: God hath ordained it for a footstool, and we must not make a throne of it, nor doth it become them who seek heavenly places in Christ Jesus."

The executive branch of the government was entrusted by Penn, during his absence, to the provincial council, of which Thomas Lloyd was president. After his embarkation, he wrote a letter, to be communicated to the meetings of Friends in the Province and territories, being an affectionate farewell, and a fervent exhortation to fidelity and holiness.¹

The Provincial Council not having given proper attention to its executive functions, the Proprietary, in the year 1686, appointed five commissioners, namely, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, to whom he entrusted the administration of the laws.

The commissioners fulfilled their duties in a satisfactory manner; but after two or three years had elapsed, their chairman, Thomas Lloyd, desiring to be released from the cares of office, and no other suitable Friend being found willing to supply his place, Wm. Penn appointed Captain John Blackwell as Deputy-Governor.² He continued in office about

¹ See Janney's *Life of Penn*, 255, 259.

² Proud, I. 340.

a year, but not being acceptable to the colonial legislature, he was, by the advice of Penn, induced to resign; after which Thomas Lloyd, as President of the Council, again performed the executive functions to general satisfaction. One of the causes of dissatisfaction with Blackwell was his attempt to raise a militia, in total disregard to the wishes of the inhabitants, who were mostly Friends.

In the year 1688, an alarm was spread in the vicinity of Chester and Philadelphia, that an attack upon the whites was meditated by the Indians. It was first communicated by an Indian woman to an old Dutch resident of Chester, and was apparently corroborated by a rumor, that three families, about nine miles from that place, had been destroyed. The report reached Philadelphia while the council was in session; and Caleb Pusey, one of its members, who was a Friend in high standing, offered to go to the place where the Indians were said to be assembled, provided five others would go with him, unarmed. This offer being agreed to, they proceeded thither on horseback; but instead of meeting five hundred warriors, as was reported, they found the old king lying quietly on his bed, the women at work in the fields, and the children at play.

When the king was informed of the report, he seemed much displeased, and said the woman who spread it "ought to be burned to death." He added, "We have nothing against the English." . . . "As God has given you corn, I advise you to get it in, for we intend you no harm."¹ The return of the messengers dispelled the fears of the colonists; they

¹ Proud's Hist. Pa. I. 335-337.

continued to maintain the most friendly relations with their Indian neighbors, frequently receiving from them substantial assistance, and reciprocating their disinterested favors.

One of the objects contemplated by Penn, in the colonization of Pennsylvania, being to "reduce the savage nations, by just and gentle measures, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion,"¹ he spared no pains to effect this great purpose; and his views were cordially embraced by the Friends residing in the province. He refused to sell the monopoly of the Indian trade, for which a large price was offered, being resolved, he says, "not to act unworthy of God's providence, and so defile what came to me clean."²

To have sold that monopoly would have frustrated the efforts made by him and his friends to prevent the sale of rum to the Indians, and to promote their civilization. It was, moreover, the earnest desire and concern of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, that the Indians should be instructed in the benign principles of Christianity, which alone are capable of elevating and refining the human character. With this view, religious meetings were held among the natives by Geo. Fox, and other ministers from Europe. Wm. Penn, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, and other ministers residing in the colonies, were frequently engaged in the same service; their efforts being kindly received by their red brethren, who generally assented to the great fundamental doctrine of Friends—the light of Christ within; or, in other words, "the perceptible operation of God's

¹ Charter of Pa.

² Letter to Turner.

spirit," which, when submitted to, redeems and purifies the soul.

Education was duly appreciated in Pennsylvania as an essential element of public prosperity and happiness. Within a year from the landing of Penn, the governor and council engaged the services of Enoch Flower to open a school in Philadelphia; and in the year 1689, the Proprietary wrote to Thomas Lloyd, President of the council, instructing him to set up a Grammar school, which he promised to incorporate. This gave rise to the "Friends' Public School," which was incorporated in 1697, confirmed by a fresh patent in 1701, and by another charter in 1708. The corporation was forever to consist of fifteen discreet and religious persons of the people called Quakers, by name of "The Overseers of the Public School founded in Philadelphia at the request, cost, and charges of the People called Quakers." Its last and present charter from Wm. Penn, confirming and enlarging its privileges, is dated 29th of November, 1711. In this institution the poor were taught gratuitously, others paid a portion of the cost of their children's education, and it was open on the same terms to all religious persuasions.¹ The first teacher was George Keith, a classical scholar, and a minister of the society, whose subsequent career will hereafter claim our attention.

Within three years from the landing of Penn, a printing-press was in operation in the city of Philadelphia, affording evidence that active enterprise and literary taste were not lacking in his infant colony.

One of the first and most considerable settlements

¹ Proud, I. 344.

in the province was at the Falls in Bucks county, where there was a Friends' meeting for worship established before the country was granted to Penn. The first colonists obtained their patents for land from Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York.

Another early settlement was at Uplands, afterwards called Chester, where a meeting for divine worship was held regularly from the year 1675, at which time Robert Wade and others settled there. At his house a meeting for discipline was first held on the 10th of the Eleventh month, 1681.¹

Before the arrival of Penn, a meeting was held at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, which was removed, as we have seen, to Philadelphia, where "a boarded meeting-house" was built in 1682, on Front street above Arch. In this house the Colonial Assembly met in 1683, and it continued to meet there for some years.²

About the year 1682, a large number of colonists arrived from Wales, and having purchased 40,000 acres of land on the west side of Schuylkill, settled the townships of Haverford, Merion, and Radnor. There appears to be no record extant of the first meetings, but they were probably established in 1683.³

A meeting for worship was established at Darby in 1682, at Chichester in 1683, and at Concord in 1684.

At a Quarterly Meeting of Friends in the city of Philadelphia, in the Sixth month 1683, it was concluded that there be established a First-day meeting of Friends at Tookany, afterwards called Frankford; and another at Poetquesink, since called Byberry;

¹ Proud, I. 218. ² Michener, 52. ³ Michener and Bowden.

and that these two should constitute a Monthly meeting for discipline.¹

A settlement of Germans was commenced near Philadelphia in 1683;² in that year or the next, a large tract of land was purchased by Francis Daniel Pastorius as agent for a company. He arrived in the colony during William Penn's sojourn, and has left a geographical description of the country. The location of the town is thus described: "On the 24th day of October, anno 1685, have I, Francis Daniel Pastorius, with the wish and concurrence of our Governor, laid out and planned a new town which we called Germantown or Germanopolis, in a very fine and fertile district, with plenty of springs of fresh water, being well supplied with oak, walnut, and chesnut trees, and having besides excellent and abundant pasturage for the cattle. At the commencement there were but twelve families of 41 individuals, consisting mostly of German mechanics and weavers. The principal street of our town I have made 60 feet in width, and the cross street 40 feet. The space or lot for each house and garden I made three acres in size; for my own dwelling, however, six acres."³

Among these German colonists were some Friends from Kreisheim, near Worms, who had been convinced through the ministry of William Ames.

Among the colonists who took an active part in both civil and religious society, the names of Thomas Lloyd and Thomas Janney are frequently mentioned in the early records.

Thomas Lloyd was born in North Wales in the

¹ Michener.

² Proud, I. 304.

³ Mem. Hist. So. of Pa., Vol. IV. Part II. 92.

year 1649. His father was descended from an ancient and respectable family, and possessed a considerable estate at Dolobran in Montgomeryshire. The conviction of Charles and Thomas Lloyd in the year 1662, has already been related.¹ They were both educated at Oxford, and their minds were highly improved. Charles, being the elder brother, settled on the family estate at Dolobran near Welch-Pool, and Thomas emigrated to Pennsylvania, soon after the first settlement of that province. In his native country he had suffered much unmerited reproach, persecution, and loss of property, on account of his religion. After his removal to Pennsylvania, he became one of the most useful and influential men in the colony, manifesting great ability and integrity, both in religious and civil society. As president of the council and deputy-governor, he did much to promote the peace and prosperity of the province; yet he accepted these high trusts with reluctance, being actuated solely by the desire to serve his country and fulfil his duties. He was an able minister of the gospel; his talents and learning being sanctified by divine grace, and by meekness, patience, temperance and humility, he exemplified the doctrines that he preached.² His name will frequently appear in the further progress of this work.

Thomas Janney was born in Cheshire about the year 1683. In the 21st year of his age, he was convinced of the principles of Friends, and joined in profession with them. "The next year he received a gift in the ministry, preaching the gospel of Christ freely. He travelled into many parts of England,

¹ See Chapter VI.

² Proud's Hist. Pa. Memorials, and Whiting's Mem.

and also in Ireland, had a fervent and sound testimony for truth, and his conversation and course of life accorded with his doctrine."¹

In the year 1664, he was imprisoned in Cheshire for refusing to pay tithes; and in 1666, eight persons were imprisoned in the common jail at Chester for being found at a religious meeting at the house of Thomas Janney at Pownal-fee.²

In 1683, he came with his family to Pennsylvania, and settled at Makefield in Bucks county.

He was a member of the Provincial Council, and appears to have been an intimate friend of William Penn, who mentions him in his letters.³

He was beloved and highly esteemed for his works' sake, "being an able minister of the gospel, sound in doctrine, endowed with wisdom, and a ready utterance; and favored with openings into the mysteries of the things of God's kingdom. He was not forward to offer his gift, having a true regard to the giver, who said formerly, 'Cast the net on the right side of the ship.'" . . . "And though the Lord had furnished him with such excellent qualifications, he had so learned self-denial as not to glory therein, but was ready to prefer his friends before himself." . . . "He was of a cheerful and peaceable temper, and innocent and blameless life. As the Lord had bestowed on him a gift of the ministry beyond many of his fellows, so he was careful to improve it to his honor and the comfort of his people, laboring therein, not only in Pennsylvania, but he also several times

¹ Piety Promoted, Bowden's Frds. in Am., and Smith's Hist. Pa.

² Besse, I. 104. Among these persons were James Harrison and William Janney.

³ Proud's Hist., I. 217, 291, 361.

visited the churches in New England, Rhode Island, Long Island, and Maryland."¹ His last gospel mission was to England, which will be related in the sequel.

Brief memorials concerning the exemplary lives and triumphant deaths of some of the early colonists are here subjoined.

1. William Yardley was born in the year 1632, near Leek, in Staffordshire. In his youth he sought after the knowledge of God, and joined in society with a spiritually-minded people, who called themselves the "Family of Love." He afterwards was convinced of the principles of Friends, and joining in fellowship with them, was called to the ministry about the twenty-third year of his age. He travelled in various parts of the nation, preaching the gospel, and suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake nineteen weeks, during seventeen of which his only resting-place was the bare floor of his cell. In the year 1682, he removed to Pennsylvania, and settled in Bucks county. He represented that county in the first colonial Assembly, and was afterwards an active member of the Provincial council. "His ministry," writes his intimate friend, Thomas Janney, "was with a good understanding not only of what he spake from, but also what he spake unto; and the things which he testified were what he had learned of the Lord, and had himself seen, heard, and tasted, in the good word of life." He died in the Fifth month, 1693, aged about sixty-one years, having been a minister thirty-eight years."²

2. James Harrison was born about the year 1628,

¹ Testimony of Fall's Mo. Meeting in Pa. Memorials.

² Bowden, II. 113; Pa. Mem. 15; Proud's Hist. I. 340.

near Kendal, in Westmoreland, and afterwards resided at Bolton, in Lancashire. He was one of the early proselytes to the doctrines of Friends, and receiving a gift in the ministry, became instrumental in turning many to righteousness.¹ He was an able minister, and travelled much in the service of the gospel, for which he also suffered imprisonment and loss of goods. In 1682, he embarked for Pennsylvania, taking passage in a vessel bound for the river Delaware; but owing to stress of weather she put into the Patuxent, in Maryland. Thence he travelled to Pennsbury, in Bucks county, and was entrusted by Wm. Penn with the management of his estates in the province. As steward of the Proprietary, and a member of the first Provincial council, he acted an important part in the early history of the colony. "He was," says his friend William Yardley, "a man of a peaceable spirit," yet "bold and valiant for the Truth." He died in peace, the 6th of the Eighth month, 1687, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.¹

3. Christopher Taylor, a native of Yorkshire, was convinced of Friends' principles through the ministry of Geo. Fox, in the year 1652. He had received a classical education, and was at one time a clergyman. After embracing the views of Friends, and yielding to the holy principle of divine Truth, he became an ambassador for Christ to proclaim his spiritual kingdom. He travelled in many places, preaching the gospel, and was twice imprisoned on account of his religion. From Yorkshire he removed to Waltham Abbey, in Essex, where he kept a boarding-school for Friends' children of both sexes. At that

¹ Pa. Mem. 8; Whiting's Mem. 174; Bowden, II. 111.

time a schoolmaster could not follow his profession in England without a license from the bishop; and Christopher Taylor was, in the year 1670, bound over to appear at the sessions on a charge of violating this law. In 1679, he removed and opened a school at Edmonton, in Middlesex, and in 1683 he removed to Pennsylvania. His talents, learning, and religious experience rendered him a useful member of both religious and civil society. He was a member of the Provincial council, and highly valued as a minister of the gospel. "He was," says William Yardley, "one of the Lord's worthies, strong and steadfast in the faith, very zealous for the truth, and careful for the church, his life being hid with Christ in God." He died in the year 1686.¹

4. Cuthbert Hayhurst was born in Yorkshire, about the year 1632. He was among the earliest of those who, in that county, embraced the views of Friends; and soon after attaining to manhood, he was called to the gospel ministry. In 1654, he was imprisoned nine months in Yorkshire; and in 1668, being taken while preaching at a meeting, he was imprisoned one month at Oxford.² In 1682, he went with Wm. Penn to Pennsylvania, and settled in Bucks county. He was a valiant soldier in the Lamb's warfare; and having been instrumental in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, he departed in peace in the First month, 1683, about the fiftieth year of his age.³

5. Thomas Langhorne, from Kendal, in Westmoreland, came to Pennsylvania in the year 1684, and set-

¹ Pa. Memorials, 3; Whiting's Mem. 166; Bowden, II. 108.

² Besse, II. 90, and I. 571.

³ Bowden, II. 107.

tled at Middletown, in Bucks county.¹ In his native country he suffered much for his religious testimony, and labored zealously as a minister of the gospel. After he became a citizen of Pennsylvania, he was serviceable both in civil and religious society, being elected a representative in the colonial assembly, and not neglecting the exercise of his spiritual gift. He died in the Eighth month, 1687.²

6. Roger Longworth was born at Longworth, near Bolton, in Lancashire, about the year 1630. In a testimony concerning him, by William Yardley and Phineas Pemberton, they say, "The Lord did eminently bless his ministry, whereunto he was called about the year 1672, and travelled sometimes in that work in his own country until 1675, after which time he was wholly given up and devoted to the service of the Lord, travelling much in England, where he suffered imprisonment in several places. Six times he passed through Holland, and some others of those provinces, also part of Germany, and several times as far as Dantzick, where he labored much for the release of Friends who were prisoners there, writing to the king, magistrates and officers on their behalf." He travelled also in Scotland, Barbadoes, New England, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, preaching the gospel. Soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania, he was taken sick, and died in the Sixth month, 1687, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.³

7. John Eckley, one of the early settlers in Pennsylvania, was a provincial judge, in the year 1684, and two years subsequently he was appointed by Wm.

¹ Proud, I. 289.

² Whiting, 175; Bowden, II. 109.

³ Pa. Memorials, and Whiting's Mem.

Penn one of the five commissioners who performed the executive functions of the government. Samuel Jennings, who knew him well, says, "The sincere affection I had for this, our dear friend, hath prevailed with me to give the following testimony concerning him. As a man he was pleasant, courteous, discreet, and grave, and in public services accompanied the foremost. The word of wisdom was in his mouth, and he had received the tongue of the learned, to speak in due season. I might say much of his innocence, love, and zeal for truth, which hath left a lively impression upon the hearts of many." In his last sickness he was frequently engaged in offering praises to God, and instruction to his people. He died about the year 1690.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENGLAND.

1680-90.

It had not been usual for Friends to take an active part in political affairs; some of them did not even exercise the elective franchise; but about this time, the advocates of civil and religious liberty being thoroughly disgusted with the measures pursued by the king and his ministers, deemed it their duty to use all their influence in the election of honest and patriotic men to seats in Parliament. It was, doubtless, their view, that, in a representative government,

those who fail to use the means placed in their hands by Divine Providence, to promote the safety and happiness of the nation, are in some measure responsible for the evils that may ensue. If the virtuous and intelligent portion of the community withhold their aid, leaving the elections in the hands of the profligate and the ignorant, a representative government may prove to be more oppressive than an absolute monarchy.

Although these considerations must have had their weight in the minds of Friends, and by some were deemed conclusive; there were, doubtless, others who feared that their testimonies against oaths and wars would be compromised by giving their suffrages to representatives whose principles would allow them to take the oath of office, and to vote supplies for military purposes.

The practical mind of William Penn led him to look at the actual posture of public affairs, and the obvious necessity of doing his part to avert impending evils, rather than to dwell upon abstract principles, of which the application was doubtful. In an address he published, dedicated to the freeholders and electors of England, he says, in reference to the "surprising dissolution" of the last Parliament, and the prospect of another election, "If by a neglect of this singular opportunity, we desert ourselves, and forsake our own mercies, we must expect to be left of God and good men too." . . . "If we miscarry, it will be our own fault; we have nobody else to blame. For such is the happiness of our constitution, that we cannot be destroyed but by ourselves."¹ In accordance with these views he exercised his influence, and gave

¹ England's Great Interest considered in the choice of this New Parliament, 1679.

his vote for the election of the patriotic Algernon Sidney, a staunch advocate of popular rights.¹

It must be admitted, that the political arena is a most unfavorable field for the growth of religious principles, and therefore the professors of religion, who may deem it their duty to take an active part in it, should seek for divine aid to control their feelings, enlighten their judgments, and preserve their hearts from the contamination of evil. In connection with this subject, the following paper is interesting, as throwing some light upon the views then entertained by Friends in England.

"From the Meeting for Sufferings to Friends, London, 21st of Eleventh month, 1680. [First month, 1681.]

"DEAR FRIENDS:

"As we ought not to be discouraged in our endeavors for the relief of the oppressed by any present disappointments, so we desire that all Friends who are in capacity (as they have freedom and clearness), may appear and make what good interest they can, in this election of Parliament-men, for sober, discreet, and moderate men; such as live in love with their neighbors, that are against persecution and popery, and that deport themselves tenderly towards our Friends. Be very cautious of giving any just occasion of offence. We desire God's wisdom may be with you in the discharge of your duty and conscience in these things.

"And whereas, this vote was passed by this Parliament, the day they last prorogued, viz.: 'Lunæ, 10 ma. die, January, 1680. Resolved, That it is the

¹ For a full account of Penn's views, see Janney's *Life of Penn*, 151, 162.

opinion of this House, that the persecution of Protestant dissenters, upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom:’ We desire that Friends may take a special account of all persecutions and sufferings, which any Friends in your country undergo, contrary to this resolve of Parliament since the passing thereof, or since the beginning of this last session of Parliament; and send up an exact and plain account thereof, in order to present it to the next Parliament.

(Signed.) On behalf of our meeting for sufferings.

“ELLIS HOOKES.”

A few years subsequent to this date, a discussion took place in the Yearly meeting of London, concerning “the choosing of Parliament-men, and accepting of offices as Justices of the Peace.” Stephen Crisp thought Friends should be left free, as to making use of their right; Wm. Penn suggested that some persons should be appointed with whom they could advise; but Geo. Fox gave his judgment that it was not safe to conclude such things in a Yearly meeting. Friends should keep to the power of God, and let such as are concerned in these matters, discourse of them among themselves. He added: “It was not in the wisdom of God to propound such things here.”¹ About the same time, some Friends in Ireland being appointed to municipal offices, Geo. Fox wrote a letter to Wm. Edmundson, showing that they could neither take oaths themselves, nor tender them to others, without a violation of their principles.²

¹ MS. Extract, dated 1688.

² See the letter of G. Fox in Chapter XIV.

Geo. Fox relates in his Journal, that in the year 1681, when the candidates for the sheriffalty in London were soliciting the votes of Friends, he wrote a few lines by way of inquiry to this effect; "Shall we be free to worship God, and keep his and his Son's commands, if we give our voices freely for you? for we are unwilling to give our voices for such as will imprison and persecute us, and spoil our goods."

In the election for members of Parliament, Friends gave their support to the Whigs, who being the advocates of civil liberty and religious toleration, opposed the arbitrary proceedings of the court, and the persecuting spirit of the hierarchy. It was on this account that some of the court party expressed their dissatisfaction, saying, that "If Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for the Quakers, that they should not vote for Parliament-men, there should be no further persecution of them."¹ The Friends, however, were well aware that no permanent relief could be obtained without the repeal of the penal laws against non-conformity, which could only be effected through the influence of an enlightened public sentiment, and the election of a liberal Parliament. In an interview had by some Friends with secretary Jenkins, a Welshman, he complained that they gave their votes for the election of Parliament-men who were against the king's interest. Richard Davies replied, "It is our birthright, as we are freeholders and burgesses, to elect men qualified to serve both the king and country; but how they are corrupted when they come within these walls, I know not."²

¹ Gough, II. 533.

² Life of R. Davies, 219.

During the remainder of the reign of Charles II., about four years from this date, the sufferings of Friends for conscience' sake continued unabated. For several years their meeting-houses in London and its vicinity were mostly closed against them, and they met in the streets adjacent, where, summer and winter, even in the most inclement weather, they might be seen patiently waiting upon God in silence, or engaged in exhortation or vocal prayer, bearing their testimony for the Lord.¹ In the severe winter of 1683, when the Thames was bridged with ice so thick that horses and cattle passed over it, as along the common highway, these faithful confessors of Jesus were still at their posts on the days appointed for public worship.

George Whitehead, who was one of that devoted band, writes in his Journal, "It was a trial and hardship upon us, even upon old and young, men and women; but that was not so great as to have our estates and livelihoods exposed to ruin by a pack of ravenous informers." . . . "We had in those days some opportunities to publish the Truth openly in the streets, and also to make public supplication to God; but more frequently [we were] pulled away by force, by the trained bands or officers, and either sent to prison or turned into the meeting-house, and there detained under guard until the meeting was ended in the street. Thus were the ministers and others among us often forcibly interrupted, and scarce suffered many times to declare two or three sentences without being haled away; however, we saw it our duty in the fear of the living God to keep our meetings, and patiently to wait upon him, where often we

¹ G. Whitehead's C. T., p. 543.

enjoyed his presence to our consolation even in our silent attention upon him. Being not called to strive or contest with our adversaries, or their servants whom they employed, but in faith and patience to bear all, believing that, in due time, thereby we should obtain the victory. It was often then before me, that "The Lamb and his faithful followers should have the victory, which was matter of secret comfort to me many times. Glory to his name forever."¹

In the city of Bristol, from the year 1681 to 1684, the violence of persecution was remarkably exhibited. The meeting-houses of Friends were seized by the trained bands, the seats or forms were taken out, the galleries destroyed, and the windows broken. Friends continued to assemble for divine worship as near as they could to the meeting-house doors, but they were often assaulted with violence, neither age nor sex being spared; they were also subjected to heavy fines, and crowded into noisome jails to the endangering of their lives. In two of the prisons at Bristol, 136 Friends were confined at one time, and the fines imposed upon them in less than a year amounted to 16,440 pounds sterling.²

Joseph Pike, of Ireland, being on a visit to England, found the jails at Bristol full of Friends. "There was no other public meeting kept up in the city, beside that of a few old men and women, and some zealous young people, with some children, who met at the meeting-house door, which was shut up by the persecutors to keep Friends out."³

One of the most remarkable cases was that of Richard Vickris, who was prosecuted under the statute of

¹ G. W. Christian Progress, 544.

² Besse, I. 70.

³ Life of J. Pike.

the 35th of Queen Elizabeth for absenting himself from the national worship. By that statute, any person convicted of absence from his parish church for one month, without lawful occasion, is required to abjure the realm, or else be adjudged a felon without benefit of clergy.

Richard Vickris, being indicted at the sessions in 1683, and committed to prison, was, at the following sessions, admitted to bail on security given to answer the indictment. In the Sixth month he was, by the instigation of Sir John Knight, sheriff, hurried to a trial, and the court being intent on convicting him, a jury was found that brought in a verdict of guilty. The Recorder then admonished him to conform. He answered, "I presume thou wouldst not desire me to conform against my conscience: for to play the hypocrite with man is hateful; much more with God." Being remanded to prison, he remained under the sentence till next year, when the time for his abjuring the realm being expired, he was liable to the execution of the death-penalty, for he could not swear in any case.¹

The time for his execution drawing nigh, his enemies, to take off the odium of their proceedings, circulated reports that he was a person disaffected to the government. It pleased Divine Providence to frustrate their wicked purpose, and William Penn became the instrument of effecting his deliverance. He made an earnest appeal to the Duke of York, who promised to press the king for a pardon, and at his solicitation it was granted.²

The number of Friends imprisoned in England at this time was computed at upwards of seven hun-

¹ Besse, I. 72.

² Janney's Life of Penn, 262.

dred.¹ Many petitions were presented to men in authority on their behalf. George Whitehead and Gilbert Latoy waited on the king repeatedly to plead for the relief of their suffering brethren; but they found him less disposed than he had been in former years to grant their request. It was remarked by William Penn, about this time, that he found the court "sour and stern, and resolved to hold the reins of power with a stiffer hand than heretofore, especially over those that were observed to be church or state dissenters, conceiving that the opposition which made the government uneasy came from that sort of people, and therefore they should either bow or break."

In the winter of 1684-5, George Whitehead and Alexander Parker went to Whitehall, and met the king in the long gallery. They presented him a petition for the relief of their imprisoned Friends, when George Whitehead spoke as follows: viz.—
 "We entreat the king to excuse our importunity, for our extremity is the cause thereof; we pray the king tenderly to consider our suffering condition, and afford us relief; accounts being returned from the sheriffs of our Friends in prison."

To which the king answered, "Well, well, well."

Perceiving that the king was in haste, Geo. Whitehead told him, "If he pleased, we would acquaint the Lord Sunderland, (Secretary of State,) more fully with our case, that he might inform the king."

He answered, "Do, do."

This is supposed to have been the last interview that any of the Friends had with Charles II.² They

¹ Gough, II. 536.

² G. Whitehead's C. P. 546-7.

understood that he said "something must be done in the case;" but he did nothing, and was soon after called by death to his final account. He left nearly 1500 Friends, both men and women, in prison, and during his reign they had been sorely harassed by unprincipled informers, many hundreds being subjected to the spoliation of their estates.

On the 6th of the Twelfth month, 1684, O. S. [Feb. 6th, 1685,] Charles II. died of a very short illness, having in his last moments manifested much penitence. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York, under the title of James II., who immediately avowed himself a Catholic. William Penn, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, wrote that the king and queen went publicly to mass at Whitehall, and that James, while Duke of York, concealed his sentiments to please his brother, but after his accession to the throne, he was open and above-board, which, says Penn, "we like better on many accounts." "I was with him," he adds, "and told him so; but withal hoped we should come in for a share." He smiled, and said he desired not that peaceable people should be disturbed for their religion."¹

On the first day of his reign, the king, in council assembled at Whitehall, made a speech disclaiming all arbitrary principles in government, and promising protection to the Church of England, which gave great satisfaction to the nation. He soon received congratulatory addresses from all parts of the kingdom, but it does not appear that, at this time, he received any from the Society of Friends; although there is in Hume's History of England a fictitious

¹ For many particulars concerning the reign of James II., see my Life of Wm. Penn.

one attributed to Friends, which must have been intended as a burlesque.

Their first address, dated 2d of the First month called March, 1685, was presented by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, and Gilbert Latey, being intended merely to bring before the king the suffering condition of their members left in prison at the death of the late king.

“TO KING JAMES THE SECOND:—

“The humble application of the people called Quakers.

“Whereas it has pleased Almighty God (by whom kings reign) to take hence the late king, Charles the Second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed, we, thy subjects, heartily desire, that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy in the use of thy great power, to his glory, the king’s honor, and the kingdom’s good. And it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, (by the assistance of Almighty God,) to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the king’s government, and a conscientious people that truly fear and serve God, we do humbly hope that the king’s tenderness will appear and extend with his power to express the same, recommending to his princely clemency the case of our present suffering Friends hereto annexed.”

This address was accompanied by a statement, showing that 1460 Friends, both men and women, were then prisoners for conscience’ sake in England

and Wales.¹ The king received the petition favorably, and seemed disposed to grant relief; but, soon after his accession to the throne, an insurrection, headed by the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., produced much alarm, and engrossed the attention of the government. It was soon quelled by the king's troops, and followed by a series of trials and executions, the most cruel and revolting that had for many generations been witnessed in England.

¹ They were distributed as follows, viz.:—

Prisoners.		Prisoners.	
Bedfordshire.....	30	Leicestershire.....	37
Berkshire	37	Lincolnshire	12
Bristol	103	London and Middlesex...	66
Buckinghamshire.....	19	Norfolk	52
Cambridgeshire	8	Northampton	59
Cheshire	9	Nottinghamshire.....	6
Cornwall	32	Oxon.....	17
Cumberland.....	22	Shropshire	18
Derbyshire	1	Somersetshire	36
Devonshire	104	Southampton.....	15
Dorsetshire.....	13	Staffordshire.....	1
Durham	39	Suffolk.....	79
Ely.....	11	Surrey	29
Essex	10	Sussex	17
Gloucestershire.....	66	Warwickshire	31
Hertfordshire.....	18	Westmoreland.....	5
Herefordshire.....	1	Wiltshire.....	34
Huntingdonshire	10	Worcestershire.....	15
Kent.....	16	Yorkshire.....	279
Lancashire.....	73	Wales	30
	<hr/> 622		<hr/> 838
			622
		Total,	<hr/> 1460

See Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 574, and Besse, Vol. I.

Geo. Whitehead had several interviews with the king; in one of which, being accompanied by Robert Barclay, they reminded him of the grievous sufferings to which Friends were still subjected, and alluded to the great relief they had for a short time experienced from the Declaration of Indulgence issued by the late king.

The king answered, "I intended a general coronation-pardon, but the reason why it was deferred was, because some persons, who are obnoxious by being in the late plot, would thereby have been pardoned, and so might have come to sit in Parliament, which would not have been safe. But I intend that your Friends shall be discharged out of prison. And for the Declaration of '72, I was the cause of drawing up that Declaration, and I never gave my consent to the making of it void. It was the Presbyterians who caused it to be made void (or cancelled) in Parliament."¹

At length the king issued a warrant, dated 15th of March, 1685-6, addressed to the attorney-general, Sir Robert Sawyer, requiring that all the people called Quakers who were in prison, or being prosecuted for not swearing, not coming to church, or non-payment of fines, should forthwith be discharged, and all their fines and forfeitures remitted. Through the diligence of George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, and other Friends in London, this warrant was executed without delay; and upwards of thirteen hundred prisoners, some of whom had for many tedious years been separated from their families, were restored to liberty and the enjoyments of domestic life. There

¹ G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 577, London, 1725.

is no doubt that Wm. Penn exerted a most important agency in this great measure of justice and mercy; for he possessed extraordinary influence with the king, and was almost constantly employed in pleading the cause of the innocent and the oppressed.¹

Among the many Friends released by the king's pardon from a long imprisonment was John Whiting, who has left a circumstantial account of the persecutions endured by himself and others for ecclesiastical demands. He was born at Naylsay, in the county of Somerset, in the year 1656. His parents were exemplary members of the Society of Friends, and kept meetings in their house. Very early in youth, he felt "the reproofs of instruction" from the divine witness in his soul; and, at twelve years of age, he entered into covenant with the Lord, endeavoring to lead a holy life. When about sixteen years of age, he was, through the ministry of George Coale and Charles Marshall of Bristol, "brought into a more inward acquaintance with the work of divine grace, and walking in close obedience to it, a secret joy arose in his heart; and he came, more and more, to feel the Lord's presence, which he had sought and longed for, even from his childhood." "In those days," he writes, "I frequented meetings in the city of Bristol, where the most eminent Friends of this and other nations used to come; and many heavenly meetings there were, (as well as in our country,) which were a great help and strength to me, for which I praise and magnify the worthy name of the Lord."

In the year 1678, he was cited to appear before the

¹ G. Whitehead, 590. J. Whiting's Mem. 159.

bishop's court at Wells, for non-payment of tithes. He appeared accordingly, and being questioned, he answered, that he could not comply with this demand, because, to pay tithes under this gospel dispensation, was to deny Christ, "who had put an end to the first covenant by establishing the second." His case being kept before the Ecclesiastical court for some time, they at length proceeded to excommunication, and under a writ from that oppressive tribunal, he was, in the year 1679, imprisoned at Ivelchester. "Thus was I carried," he says, "from my father's house, in the prime of my days, to be shut up in prison for conscience' sake, and never returned again to inhabit there; but the Lord was with me, and took care of me, that I had no cause to be discouraged."

He found thirty-three Friends in two prisons at Ivelchester, most of them for non-payment of tithes, some for not coming to church, and others for not swearing. The length of time they had been prisoners shows the relentless severity of their clerical persecutors. One man of eighty had been a prisoner thirteen years; three men had been prisoners nine years; fourteen, from four to six years; nine, about two or three years; and six, less than one year.

"After I was brought to prison," writes John Whiting, "I was kept close for some time in a ward; but though under confinement, it was a fine refreshing time with me through the goodness of God, who was near us; and many Friends came to visit us, which was a great comfort to us; and glad I was when I could have liberty to go to the meeting at the Friery [prison], where most Friends were, and where meetings were kept." The Quarterly meeting was usually held at the Friery in order that the prisoners

might have the privilege of attending, and enjoying the society of their friends.

The imprisonment of John Whiting continued six years and nine months, which he bore with Christian resignation, and employed part of the time in writing on religious subjects. At the date of his release, fifteen other Friends, imprisoned at Ivelchester under sentence of premunire, excommunication, and attachments for tithes, were restored to liberty. Of these, two had been prisoners fifteen years; two, ten years; one, nine years; one, six years; three, four years; and the others from one to three years.¹ Among them was Christopher Holder, who had been one of the sufferers at Boston, as already stated. During the time of John Whiting's detention at Ivelchester, thirteen Friends died prisoners there, most of them having been committed, and long detained, for non-payment of tithes.²

The penal laws against non-conformity being still in force, and the informers busy in their infamous vocation, application was made to the king to put a stop to their ruinous spoliations, which were frequently illegal, and sometimes effected by perjury. Commissioners were accordingly appointed to hear the complaints brought against them by the Friends, and the result was, that many informers were convicted of extreme violence and perjury, which being reported to the government, instructions were issued to the judges to discountenance their depredations.³

Although James II., on his accession to power, had disclaimed all arbitrary principles in government, he soon began to evince a disposition to encroach upon

¹ J. Whiting's Memoirs, 159.

² Ibid. 160.

³ G. Whitehead, 501 to 609.

the liberties of the people. The favor he showed to the Catholics, was another cause of discontent to his Protestant subjects. He suffered the Jesuits to build a college at the Savoy in London, and he opened diplomatic relations with the court of Rome, receiving the Pope's nuncio with honors; even kneeling in his presence. The deep-rooted aversion generally entertained against the Roman Catholic religion, was greatly increased by the horrible scenes that occurred in France on the revocation of the edict of Nantz. This celebrated edict was issued in the year 1598 by Henry IV. to secure freedom of conscience to his Protestant subjects. It was revoked by Louis XIV. in the year 1685, when the French Protestants, generally called Huguenots, were persecuted by the Catholics in the most barbarous manner; many being put to death, and half a million compelled to seek an asylum in foreign lands. Near fifty thousand took refuge in England, bringing with them their arts and manufactures, which took root and flourished in their adopted country. The dismal accounts they brought of the perfidy and cruelty of their persecutors, roused the indignation of the British people, and induced them to watch with great vigilance the measures of their government.¹

In the year 1687, James II. issued a declaration of general indulgence, by which "the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament, or for any other non-conformity to the religion established," was immediately suspended.² This measure, apparently laudable in itself, was received with distrust by the nation; because it was believed to be intended chiefly

¹ Hume, Hist. England.

² Whiting's Memoirs, 171.

to favor the Catholics; and moreover it was based upon the dispensing power, by virtue of which the king claimed the right to suspend the acts of Parliament. This dangerous prerogative, the British people were not disposed to concede to a monarch whose religion, and whose arbitrary measures, had rendered him exceedingly unpopular.

This Declaration of Indulgence has been attributed, in part, to the influence of Wm. Penn; and doubtless he rejoiced that freedom of conscience, for which he had long been pleading, was about to be enjoyed; but there is conclusive evidence to prove that "he was opposed to putting out the king's declaration on so unpopular a prerogative."¹

Although the Protestant Dissenters disapproved of the grounds assumed by the king, yet deeming the liberty granted no more than their natural right, they gladly accepted it, and addresses expressive of their gratitude were sent up to the throne. The Society of Friends at their Yearly meeting adopted an address to the king, and appointed William Penn, with others, to present it. In the concluding sentence, they say, alluding to the Declaration of Indulgence, "We assure the king it is well accepted in the several counties from which we came, so we hope the good effects thereof for the peace, trade, and prosperity of the kingdom, will produce such a concurrence from the Parliament as may secure it to our posterity in after times."² They knew that without such a concurrence it could not be permanent, and Wm. Penn continued to write and publish arguments in favor

¹ See Lawton's Memoir, in Janney's Life of Penn.

² See Penn's speech and Friends' address in the same.

of a general toleration being established by Parliament.

The king published a second declaration of indulgence almost in the same terms as the first, and directed that "immediately after divine service it should be read by the clergy in all the churches." This order being extremely obnoxious to the clergy, they were generally unwilling to publish it, and six of the bishops, together with the primate, waited privately on the king with a petition praying that they might be excused from reading the declaration, which they averred was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by Parliament. The king evinced his arbitrary disposition by causing them to be imprisoned in the Tower, and prosecuted for a seditious libel.

While the bishops were in the Tower, they were waited on by Robert Barclay, who had been informed of their having alleged, "That the Quakers had belied them, and reported that they (the bishops) had been the cause of the death of some." He gave them undeniable proofs that some Friends had been detained in prison by the bishops until death, though they had been apprised of their danger by physicians who were not "Quakers." He assured them, however, that it was by no means the intention of Friends to publish such incidents at that time, or to give the king or their adversaries any evidence against them.¹

The bishops were soon after brought to trial in Westminster hall, and being acquitted by a jury, the enthusiastic rejoicings of the people showed that the king had lost the confidence and affection of his subjects.

¹ Barclay's Friends in Scotland.

In the same year, his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, being invited by many of the nobility and gentry of England, landed with an army of about twelve thousand men, and was joined soon after his arrival by part of the English forces, led by Lords Cornbury and Churchill.

The king, finding disaffection on every hand, his generals and his troops going over to the invader, and even his own daughters deserting him, became disheartened and withdrew to France. A Convention being soon after assembled, declared the throne vacant, and conferred the regal power upon the Prince and Princess of Orange, as joint sovereigns, with the title of William and Mary.

Soon after their accession to power, a bill was introduced into Parliament, and passed by the Commons, for modifying the test-oath, so as to allow all Protestants to be admitted to office, but it was lost in the house of lords.¹ Another bill was then brought forward with better success, entitled "An Act for exempting their majestie's Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws." Some of the Friends in London being permitted to peruse the proposed bill, found it clogged with a Confession of Faith in these words, viz.: "All such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, co-equal with the Father and the Son, One God, blessed forever: And do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed will and word of God." This confession being considered by the Friends "unscriptural," the following substitute for it was

¹ Gough.

presented to the committee by George Whitehead and John Vaughton, viz.: "I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, One God, blessed forever; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." The substitute was accepted by the committee and engrafted into the bill.

Geo. Whitehead observes, in relation to this confession of faith, "We were, therefore, of necessity put upon offering the said confession, it being also our known professed principle, sincerely to confess, Christ the Son of the living God, His divinity, and as he is the Eternal Word: and that the three which bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, are one: *one divine Being, one God*, blessed forever."¹

The Act of Toleration being intended to apply to all Protestant Dissenters who should take the oath of allegiance, and Friends being scrupulous against swearing in any case, a clause was added for their relief, allowing them, instead of the oath, to subscribe a declaration to be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary.² The act received the royal sanction the 24th of the Third month, 1689.

Although this salutary measure did not exempt Friends from the payment of tithes and church rates, which were still very oppressive, it effected a most important alleviation of their sufferings, and they accepted it with grateful hearts, ascribing the praise to Him "who causeth all things to work together for good to them that love him."

¹ G. W. Christian Progress, 635.

² Gough, III. 235; and J. Whitehead's Mem. 186.

In the Epistles of the Yearly meeting, held at London, in the years 1689 and 1690, Friends were advised to "Walk wisely and circumspectly towards all men in the peaceable spirit of Christ Jesus; giving no offence nor occasions to those in outward government, nor [giving] way to any controversies, heats, or distractions of this world about the kingdoms thereof. But pray for the good of all, and submit all to that divine Power and Wisdom which rules over the kingdom of men." . . . "And that all Friends be truly thankful to God for the present mercy, as to the peace, and liberty, and blessed opportunities we now enjoy; and we desire that all Friends may make a faithful improvement thereof; and may show it forth by their diligent attending upon the worship and service of God, at the usual times and seasons appointed for the same." . . . "We understand that there is such an openness in divers counties in this nation, amongst people, to receive truth, that some Friends do much desire some faithful laborers among them as the Lord shall make way." . . . "Let every one be watchful against an earthly spirit getting up in any, for that will choak the good seed, and bring forth a slighting or neglecting your testimony in your First-day and Week-day meetings; and bring a decay of your strength and zeal for God and his truth, and bring a weakness upon you, by reason whereof such will not be able to stand in an hour of temptation. And dear Friends: For the Lord's sake exercise your Christian care in the education of your children in the fear of God, and plainness and simplicity of truth, both in language and habits."¹

¹ Yearly Meeting Epistles, Balt. ed. 1806.

CHAPTER XIX.

MEMORIALS OF ENGLISH FRIENDS.

1680-90.

DURING this decade, the Society of Friends in England was called to mourn the removal, by death, of some of its most valued and distinguished members.

1. Thomas Taylor has been mentioned, as one who joined the Society soon after its rise, in the north of England, and became a faithful minister of the Word.¹ On being released from his long imprisonment at Stafford, already related,² he resumed his travels and labors in the gospel of Christ, being "filled with the spirit, and always engaged in truth's service."

A little before his death, he said to his friends, who stood near him, "I am going to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God."³ Thus he departed in perfect peace, the 18th of the First month, 1681, about the 65th year of his age. He was buried at Stafford, his funeral being attended by many citizens whose children he had taught in prison; and they bore witness to the purity of his life, saying, "He was a good man, and his words and counsel they believed would never be forgotten."⁴

He wrote a number of religious works, which were collected and published in one volume, in the year 1697.

¹ Vol. I. 137.

² Testimony of T. Taylor, Jun.

³ Vol. II. ch. v.

⁴ R. Barrow's Testimony.

2. Ellis Hookes, whose name appears very frequently in the correspondence of the early Friends, was a scrivener of Horsleydown, in Southwark. He was clerk of Friends' meeting in London about twenty-four years, and was much employed in the service of the Society, especially as a writer and solicitor in cases of suffering. He died of consumption, the 12th of Ninth month, 1681.¹

3. William Bennit, of Woodbridge, in Suffolk, was born about the year 1684. In youth he was religiously inclined, and sought the Lord often in private, praying to be instructed in the way that leads to eternal life. He frequented the meetings of the Independents; but he saw that many of them, and even some that were chief among them, were not, in life and conversation, what they professed to be. Their singing of psalms became burdensome to him, because he knew he was not prepared to sing the songs of Zion, and that many who engaged in that exercise were ignorant of the states described in their psalmody.

On hearing the gospel of light, life, and peace preached by one of the people called Quakers, the witness of God in his heart bore testimony to the truth declared. It was, however, long after he had been, in some measure, convinced of the Truth, before he gave up to obey it. At length the power of Divine love overcame his reluctance, making him willing to bow to the yoke, take up the daily cross, and follow Christ in the way of righteousness. In relating his religious experience, he says, "The same light which condemned me for sin, when I was in

¹ Letters of Early Friends, LXXX.

disobedience to it, now saves me from sin, justifies me as I am kept in the faith and obedience of it, and ministers to me rest and peace. So this I assert and affirm experimentally, that the light of Christ in the conscience of that man or woman who is in unbelief, and in the unconverted state, is one in nature with the light in that man or woman who is in the belief of it, and converted by it: and the light of Christ in the drunkard and swearer, that doth check, judge, and reprove him for his sins, if it be believed in, loved, and obeyed, is able to save him from his sins." William Bennit being called to the ministry of the gospel, travelled in many parts of England as an ambassador for Christ, adorning the doctrine he delivered to others by the innocence and integrity of his life. He had the true qualifications of an elder and minister of Christ, humility, holiness, and self-denial.

His sufferings for the cause of truth were frequent and protracted. He was imprisoned at Bliborough in 1661, at Yarmouth and Norwich in 1664, and at Edmundsbury in 1665, where he lay amongst the felons nearly eight years, and during five years of that time, he scarcely set his foot over the threshold. His last imprisonment was at Ipswich, where being confined in extremely cold weather, he contracted a disease that proved fatal, and he laid down his life, a martyr for the testimony of Jesus, on the 23d of the Fourth month, 1684, in the 50th year of his age. He wrote several epistles and essays on religious subjects, which were well approved by his friends, and reprinted in 1685 and 1838.¹

¹ Memoirs of W. Bennit, etc., London, 1838, and J. Whiting's Mem. 112.

4. William Gibson was born at Caton, near Lancaster, about the year 1629. During the civil war he enlisted as a soldier, and being in garrison at Carlisle, Cumberland, he, with three others, went to a Friends' meeting, intending to abuse the minister who had appointed it. When they entered the meeting, Thomas Holmes was preaching the gospel with convincing authority; and William Gibson, being soon reached and affected by it, stepped up near him, in order to defend him from the intended assault of his companions. From this time, he became a constant attendant of Friends' meetings, and, having withdrawn from the garrison, he employed himself in shoemaking, and waited upon God in silence, under the refining operation of his grace, for about three years. He then received a dispensation of the gospel to preach to others, and became eminently serviceable in the church of Christ.

Like others of his brethren, he suffered much for his religious testimony, being subjected to spoliation of his goods, and long imprisonment. He settled first near Warrington, and afterwards in London, where he left many seals to the efficacy of his ministry. "He was a lover of unity amongst brethren; but as a sword against that spirit, which under pretence of love to the light of Christ Jesus in the conscience, would plead for a liberty that was out of the Truth, and which sought to draw others from the footsteps of the flock of Christ."

On his death-bed, he exhorted Friends to be faithful to the Lord, and to love the brethren. To his children "he gave good advice, directing them to that divine light of Christ which he had preached, and by which he had received the knowledge of God, and by

walking in it, salvation to his soul, desiring that they might have the same, and walk in it." He died the 20th of the Ninth month, 1684, aged 55 years, a minister twenty-six years.¹

5. Thomas Stordy, of Cumberland, was descended from a respectable ancestry, and inherited a handsome estate. When about thirty years old, he began to abstain from the gross evils and vanities of the world, and to seek after the knowledge of heavenly things. He joined the Independents, and was highly esteemed among them for his talent in exhortation and other religious exercises.

Being subsequently convinced of the principles of Friends, he joined in membership with them, and became a partaker of their sufferings, as well as of their consolations, through the gospel of Christ. He manifested his fidelity to his religious convictions by refusing to pay, or to receive tithes; and having inherited from his ancestors an impropriation of £10 per annum, he relinquished it by deed to the owners of the land whence it accrued; believing that to them it of right belonged. He was imprisoned nine weeks in the year 1660, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. In the year 1662, he was sentenced to a premunire for refusing to swear, and kept a close prisoner ten years at Carlisle—separated from his wife and family—and all his estate, real and personal, seized for the use of the king. He was liberated in 1672, by the king's pardon; and through the intercession of Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, his real estate was restored, but his personal property was never recovered. He was afterwards heavily fined for non-attendance of the national worship, and detained

¹ Piety Promoted, and Whiting's Memoirs.

in prison several years, until released by death, which was on the 22d of the Tenth month, 1684.

When the hour of his departure drew nigh, being visited by several Friends, he encouraged them to faithfulness, saying, "If you continue faithful to the Lord whilst you live in this world, he will reward you, as he now rewards me, with his sweet peace."

6. John Anderdon was born near Bradford, in Devonshire, about the year 1624. He was descended from a respectable family, and having received a good education, he engaged in the practice of the law. Being in London on business about the year 1658, he went to a Friends' meeting, where Francis Howgill was preaching, and some of the first words he heard him utter were these: "*The Light of Christ in thy conscience which shows thee thy sin, is that which will save thee from thy sin.*" He was much broken and contrited when he considered that he had so long overlooked or resisted the heavenly monitor that had reproved him for sin; and being fully convinced of the Truth, he mourned with that "godly sorrow which worketh repentance to salvation."

As he submitted to the operation of the Spirit of Truth, he was prepared as a vessel for the Lord's house; and a gift in the ministry being committed to him, he became instrumental in turning many to righteousness.

Being a man of some note in the world, he became on that account more obnoxious to malignant persecution, and was a prisoner for conscience' sake at different times, amounting in all to near twenty years. "He had good service for the Lord in meetings, not only in prison, but at other places abroad, as he had liberty and opportunity." His last imprisonment was

in the Friery at Ivelchester, being committed under sentence of premunire, and detained until death.

About six months before his decease, he was taken ill, and continued to decline in strength, until the 20th of the First month, 1684, when he finished his career in peace, about the sixtieth year of his age.¹

7. Thomas Briggs, of Cheshire, was born about the year 1610. His convincement of the principles of Friends, through the ministry of George Fox, in the year 1652, has already been related.² He travelled extensively, both in Great Britain and America, preaching the gospel with great zeal and fervency. He suffered much abuse and frequent imprisonments for his religious testimony; and being faithful to the end, he laid down his life in peace in the year 1685, being about 75 years of age.³

8. Anne Whitehead, whose maiden name was Downes, was born about the year 1623. Her convincement, and call to the ministry, in London, about the year 1654, have been noticed in a preceding chapter.⁴

In the year 1656, she travelled on foot about two hundred miles into Cornwall to visit George Fox and other Friends, in Launceston prison, where she kindly ministered to their wants by purchasing and preparing their food. During that journey, she was also engaged in the gospel ministry, and was instrumental in bringing many to the knowledge of the Truth. She was twice married. Her first husband, Benjamin Greenwell, of London, lived but a short time, and subsequently she became the wife of George Whitehead. She was considered an extraordinary woman,

¹ J. Whiting's Mem. 130.

² Ibid.

³ Vol I. 142.

⁴ Ibid. 201.

not only in respect to her ministry, but in taking care of the poor, visiting the sick, the widows and the fatherless, and in every way devoting herself to the service of God.

The evening before she died, she said to her husband, "The Lord is with me; I bless his name; I am well. It may be you are afraid I shall be taken away; and if it be, the will of the Lord be done." Another time she remarked, "I am done with all things in this life; nothing troubles me; but I am at true peace and ease every way." A few hours before her departure, she said, "Though I am in a dying condition, yet it is a living death; and though weakness doth seize my body, yet my understanding and sense are as perfect and clear as when I was in perfect health." In true love and charity with all, she quietly departed this life on the 27th of the Fifth month, 1686, aged about sixty-three years.¹

9. Robert Widders has already been noticed as a fellow-laborer and companion of Geo. Fox, while travelling in Scotland and America.² During the time of his last sickness he was in a resigned frame of mind, given up to the will of God, and spoke of his mercies to his church, saying, "God will comfort Zion, and repair her decayed places, and make her deserts as a paradise, and her wilderness as a garden of the Lord; mirth and joy shall be found there, thanksgiving and the voice of praise." At another time, speaking of his own experience, he said, "The work of righteousness is peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever." He would often, upon his death-bed, remark that his heart was filled with

¹ Piety Promoted and Whitney's Memoirs.

² Vol. I. 142, 296, and Vol. II. Chap. XI.

the love of God, and that there was nothing betwixt him and the Lord. Addressing the Most High, he said, "Thou hast taught me the way of life, and makest me full of life and joy with thy countenance." He passed quietly away on the 20th of the First month, 1686, in the 68th year of his age.¹

10. Rebecca Travers was convinced of the principles of Friends through the ministry of James Naylor, about the year 1655, as already related.² After some time she received a gift in the ministry, in which she labored mostly in the city of London, and its neighborhood. She was much engaged in deeds of charity and beneficence, and was one of the first of those faithful women to whom the care of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned members of the Society was assigned.

She wrote several religious tracts, in one of which she gave the following account of her religious experience: "That, though she had been a reader of the Scriptures from a child of six years old as constantly as most, yet when by the power of the gospel she was turned from darkness to light, they appeared another thing in her view, being clearly explained to her understanding as she came to learn of that Spirit which gave them forth."³ After a long life of usefulness and piety, she died in much peace the 15th of the Fourth month, 1688, in the 80th year of her age.

11. William Dewsbury, one of the earliest proselytes to the doctrines of Friends, and one of the most eminent ministers in the Society, has frequently been mentioned in the course of this history. In a pre-

¹ Piety Promoted and Whiting's Memoirs.

² Vol. I. 327, 333.

³ Gough, III. 222, and Whiting, 175.

ceding chapter¹ an account was given of his last imprisonment at Warwick, which continued about six years. During a part of the time he was cheered and comforted by the presence of his little grand-daughter, Mary Samm, an interesting child of twelve years old, who came to bear him company, and dwelt with him in the Sergeant's ward in Warwick jail. He has left a touching account of her religious experience, sickness, and death, showing that the sanctifying power of Divine grace had prepared her, thus early, for an entrance into the joys of the spiritual world. Her death was felt to be a sore bereavement to the aged prisoner, but he had long been accustomed to bow in reverence to the will of God, being fully assured that all his dispensations are ordered by infinite wisdom and goodness.

After his release, which took place in 1685, he did not travel much more in the exercise of his ministry, being enfeebled by long imprisonments, added to the infirmities of declining age. Feeling an earnest desire to visit once more the meetings of Friends in London, he went to the city in the Third month, 1688.

Soon after his arrival, he attended a meeting for worship at Grace-church street, where he preached an impressive and practical sermon on the great doctrine of regeneration, as the only means of entering the kingdom of heaven. After the sermon, he offered the following excellent prayer —

“Blessed and glorious God! thy presence and power is with thy people everywhere, and thou art stretching forth thy almighty arm for the salvation of thy chosen ones. Thou art influencing their souls

¹ Chapter XII.

with thy grace and spirit in their solemn assemblies. We desire to extol and magnify thy great and excellent name, for all thy mercies and blessings. We pray thee, bow down thy heavenly ear, and hearken to the cries and supplications of thy people, who are breathing forth the desire of their souls unto thee. Thou art a God hearing prayer: supply their wants, and establish their spirits, and uphold them with thy free spirit. Crown all thy chosen ones with thy loving kindness and tender mercy; rend the cloud of darkness that hangs over us, and take away the veil; bow the heavens, and visit us with thy salvation, and reveal the mysteries of thy truth unto us; and, in all our ways, let us acknowledge thee, and do thou lead us in the way everlasting.

“Righteous God of love! while we live on earth, let our conversation be in heaven, where Christ, our Mediator, sits at thy right hand; let us follow his example, who was holy, harmless, and undefiled—that we may sit in heavenly places with him. Be thou a sun and shield in our earthly pilgrimage. Whom have we in heaven, but thee? and there is none on earth that we desire, besides thee. Let us walk before thee in sincerity and truth; and do thou conduct us in the way of truth and righteousness by thy blessed spirit. Blessed be thy name for the light of thy saving truth, that hath shined in our minds; and the light of thy countenance, that hath been lifted up upon us in our meetings. Thou hast furnished a table for thy people, as in the days of old; we cannot but admire thy great love and condescension towards us, and extol and bless thy holy name for thy abounding mercies and the riches of thy goodness to us. We desire to give thee honor and renown,

and praises and thanksgiving, for thy renewed mercies and spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, for whom we bless thee, and in whom we desire to be found, not having our own righteousness. To Him, with thyself, and thy holy, eternal spirit, be glory forever. Amen!"¹

William Dewsbury continued in London until the end of the Third month, desirous of attending the approaching Yearly meeting; but, being seized with a renewed attack of a disease that had long attended him in prison, he concluded to return to his home at Warwick. Before leaving the metropolis, he addressed a letter to his friends, in which he says, "I cannot be with you at the Yearly meeting, but desire the Lord to assist you with his blessed power and heavenly life, to bring in the scattered ones to their everlasting comfort and his glory forever."

He was favored to reach home; but his disease continued to increase. About a week before his death, a few Friends being in his chamber, he rose from his bed, and addressed them as follows:—

"My God hath put it into my heart to bear a testimony in his name and blessed Truth. I can never forget the day of his great power and blessed appearance, when he first sent me to preach his everlasting Gospel and to proclaim the day of the Lord to the people. And he confirmed the same by signs and wonders; and particularly by a lame woman, who went on crutches, where I and my dear brethren, George Fox and Richard Farnsworth, were cast: and as I cried mightily unto the Lord in secret, that he would signally manifest himself at that time amongst

¹ Life of W. Dewsbury, Friends' Lib. 297.

us and give witness of his power and presence with us, Richard Farnsworth, in the name of the Lord, took her by the hand; and George Fox after, spoke to her in the power of God, and bid her stand up; and she did, and immediately walked straight, having no need of crutches any more. Therefore, Friends, be faithful, and trust in the Lord, your God; for this I can say, I never since played the coward; but joyfully entered prisons as palaces, telling mine enemies to hold me there as long as they could. And in the prison-house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts and locks put upon me as jewels; and, in the name of the eternal God, I always got the victory. For they could keep me no longer than the determined time of my God." . . . "And this I have further to signify, that my departure draws nigh. Blessed be my God! I am prepared. I have nothing to do, but to die, and put off this corrupt, mortal tabernacle—this flesh, that hath so many infirmities. But the life that dwells in it ascends above all, out of the reach of death, hell, and the grave: and immortality and eternal life are my crown forever and ever! Therefore, you that are left behind, fear not, nor be discouraged; but go on in the name and power of the Lord, and bear a faithful and living testimony for him in your day. And the Lord will prosper his work in your hand, and cause his Truth to flourish and spread abroad. For it shall have the victory, and no weapon formed against it shall prosper. The Lord hath determined it shall possess the gates of its enemies; and the glory and the light thereof shall shine more and more, until the perfect day."

He concluded with prayers to the Lord, and fer-

vent supplications for his people every where; but more especially for his beloved Friends assembled at the Yearly meeting in London. He departed this life on the 17th of the Fourth month, 1688, at Warwick, and was buried the following day.¹ His Epistles and other religious writings were collected and published in 1689. Prefixed to his works is a testimony concerning him by Geo. Whitehead and others, in which they say, "He was a man religiously concerned for the honor of God, and had a great care upon his spirit that those that had believed and made profession of the Truth, might answer it in a holy and blameless conversation, which he would often say, could never be done by the largeness of knowledge, nor strength of comprehension, but a real dying to their wills and affections, by the virtue of the daily cross. He was also sincerely devoted to maintain love and unity among the people of God. He was fervent and frequent in prayer to God for the good of his church, and for the gathering of people to their true rest, wherein we had true unity with him; and our souls, with many more, have been often refreshed and comforted with him. His many deep sufferings for the Truth, and his faithful travels and labors in the gospel, are never to be forgotten."

12. Alexander Parker has been mentioned as the frequent companion of George Fox in his gospel labors.² Like most others of his brethren in the ministry, he suffered much for his religious testimony, and was diligently engaged in the Lord's ser-

¹ Dewsbury's Testimony, London, 1689, and Smith's Life of Dewsbury.

² See Vol. I. 220.

vice; but there is little to be found on record concerning him. The latter part of his time he lived in London, where "he died in peace with the Lord," the 8th of the First month, 1688-9, aged about 60 years.¹

13. Robert Lodge, of Masham, in Yorkshire, was born about the year 1636. He was religiously inclined from his youth, and embraced the principles of Friends about the year 1658 or 1660. He was a faithful minister of Christ, and a valiant sufferer for the testimony of a good conscience. His travels in Ireland, in company with John Burnyeat, have already been noticed. They were frequently companions and co-laborers in the service of the gospel, being closely united in religious fellowship.

Robert Lodge, having been faithful through life, enjoyed the consolations of religion in death. The time of his sickness was short. To a friend who visited him, he said, "The Lord knows my heart, that I have served him; and it hath been of more account to me, the gaining of one soul, than all my labors and travels." At another time, he said, "The Lord knows I was never commissioned to go any way, or do any thing, but I have willingly answered him; and the Lord who hath been my rock and refuge, my shield and buckler, and a sanctuary to me, hath been with me all along to this very day." He spake much more in praises to the Lord for his many deliverances, praying for the continuance of God's life and love to his whole heritage. "Blessed be God," he said, "I have heavenly peace;" and then falling into a sweet sleep, he departed to his eternal rest, the 15th

¹ Whiting's Mem. 185; Letters of Early Friends, LXXVIII.

of the Seventh month, 1690, about the 54th year of his age."¹

14. Thomas Salthouse has been noticed as one of those living in the family of Judge Fell, who were convinced by the ministry of Geo. Fox in 1652. He travelled and labored much in the service of the gospel, suffered many imprisonments on account of his religion, and after a life spent chiefly in the service of God and of his fellow-men, died in peace at his residence in Cornwall in the Twelfth month, 1690, aged about 60 years.

15. George Fox, the first and chief instrument in gathering the Society of Friends, has claimed a large share of attention in this history; and yet not so large as might have been allotted to him, had not his life and religious labors been the subject of a previous work.²

After resting some time at Swarthmore to recruit his health, as related in a preceding chapter, he travelled, in the year 1677, to the Southern counties, and came to London ten or twelve days before the Yearly meeting. It was attended, that year, by Friends from most parts of the nation, and some from Scotland and Holland. It was a very precious meeting, "the Lord's powerful presence being largely felt," and the affairs of the church "sweetly carried on in the unity of the Spirit."

After Yearly meeting, he went with William Penn to his residence at Worminghurst, where he remained

¹ Piety Promoted, and J. Whiting's Mem.

² See Janney's Life of Geo. Fox, with Dissertations on his views concerning the Doctrines, Testimonies, and Discipline of the Christian Church.

three weeks, having also the company of his friend, John Burnyeat.

Under a sense of religious duty to preach the gospel in Holland and some parts of Germany, Geo. Fox embarked at Harwich, accompanied by William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furley, and Isabel Yeomans, a daughter of Judge Fell. At Rotterdam they had two meetings at the house of Benjamin Furley, a Friend residing in that city. The next day Geo. Fox and William Penn set out for Amsterdam, and stopping at Harlem, they held a meeting, which was large, and proved to be "a blessed opportunity."

At Amsterdam they attended the Quarterly meeting, to which came Friends from Harlem and Rotterdam. Here they were joined by Robert Barclay, with George Keith and his wife, who had been left at Rotterdam. The meeting was large and satisfactory; Geo. Fox and Wm. Penn being engaged in exhortation and teaching, explaining the order of the gospel and the service of Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly meetings. They had a large public meeting, which was very satisfactory; and another meeting for Friends only, in which it was concluded that a Yearly meeting should be held at Amsterdam for Friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, in Embden, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Frederichstadt, Dantzic, and other places in Germany."

Leaving Amsterdam, Geo. Fox, accompanied by John Claus as interpreter, visited many towns in Holland, Friesland, Groningen, Hanover, and Holstein, in most of which he found some openness for religious service, both in public meetings for worship,

and in conversation with persons who appeared to be inquiring after the truth.

On his return to England, he continued his usual course of travels and religious labors until the year 1684, when, after attending the Yearly meeting in London, he again embarked for Holland, accompanied by Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey. They attended the Yearly meeting at Amsterdam, where they had an opportunity to see Friends from several provinces, and "They were refreshed together in the love of God." After spending some weeks on the continent, diligently engaged in holding meetings, they returned to England, and George Fox went to the house of his son-in-law, William Mead, where he stayed some time to rest and recruit his strength.

His constitution being impaired by the long imprisonments he had suffered, in damp, unwholesome cells, he was disabled from travelling, and spent much of the remaining portion of his life in the vicinity of London, where his attention was occupied with the concerns of the Society, embracing an extensive correspondence with Friends throughout the nation and in foreign lands. His wife was frequently with him, though her maternal duties required her to spend much of her time at Swarthmore. One of her daughters being the wife of John Rous, who resided at Kingston-upon-Thames, and another married to William Mead, who had a country-seat in Essex, she and her husband often sojourned with one or the other of them.

In 1690 he attended for the last time the Yearly meeting of London, in which, he says, "The wonted goodness of the Lord was witnessed, his blessed pre-

sence enjoyed, and his heavenly power livingly felt opening the hearts of his people." He wrote this year, an epistle "to Friends in the ministry that are gone to America," from which the following passage is selected :

"Friends, be not negligent, but keep your negroes' meetings and your family meetings, and have meetings with the Indian kings, and their councils and subjects every where, and with others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship him. And all take heed of sitting down in the earth, and having your minds in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth ; for to be carnally minded brings death."

The last production of his pen, dated 10th of the Eleventh month, 1690, was a letter of sympathy and encouragement to Friends in Ireland, then exposed to danger and suffering from the civil war. The closing scene of his life is thus described by William Penn :

"The next day after he had written the foregoing epistle to Friends in Ireland, he went to the meeting at Grace-church-street, which was large, (it being the First day of the week); and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty things with great power and clearness. After which, having prayed and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Gouldney's, (a Friend's house in Whitehart court, near the meeting-house); and some Friends going with him, he told them 'He thought he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of the meeting;' yet added, 'I am glad I was there; now I am clear, I am fully clear.'

As soon as those Friends were withdrawn, he lay down upon a bed. . . . His strength sensibly decaying, he was fain soon after to go into the bed, where he lay in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. And as in the whole course of his life, his spirit, in the universal love of God, was set and bent for the exalting of truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and people afar off; so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and wholly taken up with that; and he sent for some particular Friends, to whom he expressed his mind and desire for the spreading of Friends' books, and truth thereby in the world. Divers Friends came to visit him in his illness, unto some of whom he said, 'All is well, the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though,' said he, 'I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits.' Thus lying in a heavenly frame of mind, his spirit wholly exercised towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in his natural strength; and on the Third-day of that week, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, he quietly departed this life in peace, and sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, whose blessed truth he had livingly and powerfully preached in the meeting but two days before. Thus ended he his day in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in love and good-will to all men, on the 13th day of the Eleventh month, 1690, being then in the 67th year of his age."

On the 16th of the month, the day appointed for interment, a great concourse of Friends and others assembled at the meeting-house in Grace-church-

street, whither the body had been taken. A solemn meeting was held, about two hours, and several Friends in the ministry, among whom was William Penn, spoke most feelingly of the deceased, portraying his innocent life, his unwearied labors of love in the gospel of Christ, his manifold sufferings for the truth, and bearing witness to the all-sufficiency of the power of God, to whom alone he ascribed his preservation. He was interred in Friends' burying-ground near Bunhill fields.

The character of George Fox is described in a large number of testimonies, or memorials, written by his cotemporaries. His widow and his step-children have left on record an affectionate tribute to his memory. The Second-day's morning meeting of ministers in London, issued an epistle to commemorate his virtues, his services, and his triumphant close. Thomas Ellwood's testimony is particularly full as to the purity of his life, the meekness of his spirit, and the baptizing power of his ministry. But the most beautiful and comprehensive delineation of his character was written by William Penn, from whose preface to the Journal of George Fox the following passages are selected :

"He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. . . . And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it showed beyond all contradiction that God sent him, in that no arts or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry, and that so many great, excellent, and necessary

truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man, he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say with my Lord and master upon the like occasion, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes.'

"He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them, with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

"But above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behavior, and the fewness and fullness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that knew him most will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

"He exercised no authority but over evil, and that everywhere and in all; but with love, compassion,

and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give an offence. . . . And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it, but held his place in the church of God with great meekness and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed master, he was a servant to all, holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power, that had gathered them, with reverence to the Head and care over the body; and was received only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder of this age; who, as he was therefore worthy of double honor, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day, because his authority was inward, and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life."

The writings of George Fox are voluminous, and at the time of their first publication being much read, exerted an important and salutary influence on the society which he was instrumental in founding. Their most striking characteristic is their fullness of scriptural argument and illustration; for being thoroughly acquainted with the sacred writings, and believing that they proceeded from divine inspiration, he quoted them on all occasions to enforce his doctrines. He was careful, however, to direct the attention of all to the Living Word, or Spirit of Christ, as the teacher and ruler of the regenerate soul; in accordance with the promise of the Son of God, "Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

The Journal of George Fox was transcribed and prepared for the press by Thomas Ellwood. It is both interesting and highly instructive, as has been acknowledged by more than one high authority in British literature.

“One assertion,” writes Coleridge, “I will venture to make, as suggested by my own experience, that there exist folios on the human understanding and the nature of man, which would have a far juster claim to their high rank and celebrity, if in the whole huge volume there could be found as much fullness of heart and intellect as bursts forth in many a simple page of George Fox.”¹

¹ *Biographia Literaria.*

CHAPTER XX.

RETROSPECT OF THE VOLUME.

THE death of Geo. Fox marks an epoch in the history of the Religious Society of Friends, and here we may appropriately pause in order to take a retrospect of its progress. At this date, its organization was nearly complete, and its peculiar mode of church government in successful operation. The recommendations of Geo. Fox had been generally adopted in the establishment of meetings for discipline, and the rules afterwards enacted from time to time, by the Yearly meetings, were handed down in the form of advices to the subordinate meetings. As nearly all these advices, now in the books of discipline, were issued after the death of Fox, the consideration of this subject will more appropriately appear under a later date.

Geo. Fox, in a paper written about the year 1689, says, "At the Yearly meeting [of London], Friends have an account once a year from all the Yearly meetings in the world, which are about twenty-six."¹ In this number, were doubtless included the "Circular Yearly meetings;" a kind of protracted meetings, chiefly for divine worship. These were held in Lancashire, Bristol, Wales, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Colchester, Norwich, and other places in Great Britain. A Yearly meeting was held at Amsterdam, and a

¹ J. Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, CXIV.

National Half-year's meeting in Dublin. There were Yearly meetings in Jamaica, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Nevis; but whether they were for discipline, or only for worship, we are not informed.¹

By a minute of the Yearly meeting for Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, dated 1705, it appears "that some Friends in New England" were desirous to correspond with that meeting; and "it being thought necessary that there be a correspondence held not only with them, but other neighboring Yearly meetings, viz.: Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Long Island, Rhode Island, etc." a committee was appointed for that purpose.²

The number of persons constituting the Society of Friends in the year 1690, cannot be ascertained with accuracy, and has been variously estimated. There was at that time no registry of members, but all who attended their meetings regularly, and bore the same testimonies against tithes, church-rates, military services, etc., were considered as belonging to the society, and amenable to its discipline. If they were indigent, they received assistance from the common stock, and when imprisoned, they were visited and their wants supplied.

"For the first hundred years of the society's history, all attenders of its stated meetings for divine worship, were at liberty to solemnize their marriages in its meeting-houses, and such marriages were recorded by the Monthly meetings."³ The births and deaths were also registered, and from these data, an

¹ J. Barclay's note in Letters of Early Friends, CXIV.

² MS. Book of Advices.

³ Quakerism, Past and Present, by Rountree, 77.

approximate estimate may be made of the number of persons professing with the society.

"About the year 1800, one marriage appears to have occurred annually among one hundred and fifty Friends."¹ The number of marriages registered by the Society of Friends in *England and Wales*, during ten years, ending 1689, was 2598; being nearly 260 per annum, which multiplied by 150, gives 39,000 as the number of members. If we take for the basis of our estimate, the registry of deaths in the society, the result will be somewhat different. It appears that the number of deaths for ten years, ending 1811, within the six monthly meetings of London, was 501, or about 50 per annum, and the number of members of those meetings in 1811, was 2270, being about one death annually to 45 members.² The number of deaths among Friends in England and Wales, in ten years ending 1689, was 11,245, being about 1124 per annum,³ which multiplied by 45, gives 50,580 as the number of members. This estimate of the society in England and Wales, falls short of the number given by Rountree in his Prize Essay. He estimates the number of persons who had identified themselves with the society about the year 1690, at 60,000 in England and Wales, and 6000 in Scotland and Ireland. His statistics are evidently the result of much careful research, and therefore well worthy of consideration. He mentions that "about 500 Friends per annum are reported as emigrating between 1676 and 1700." At this rate, 7000 must have emigrated

¹ Rountree, 78.

² Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, LV.

³ Rountree, 82. The table No. 7 is supposed to be for England and Wales, as expressed in note 5, 80.

during the 14 years ending 1690; but the emigration commenced much earlier, for there were, in the British colonies, prior to the year 1660, many meetings of Friends, and the increase of their numbers by conviction was very great. It is probable the whole number in the British colonies in 1690, was at least 10,000. There were meetings of Friends in Holland and Germany, but their members were not numerous, and must have been considerably reduced by emigration to Pennsylvania. Upon the whole, it may be safely assumed that the Society of Friends in Europe and America, about the year 1690, numbered from 60,000 to 75,000 members.

During the thirty years of history embraced in this volume, the ministers of the society continued indefatigable in their efforts to spread the glad tidings of salvation, not only in the country of their nativity, but in foreign lands; and their labors, being under the influence of the spirit of Christ, were blessed with abundant fruits. So earnest were the members generally in their devotion to God, that wherever they sojourned their principles seemed to take root; even in the piratical towns on the coast of Barbary, they were found holding their meetings and maintaining their testimonies.

In the London Yearly meeting epistle of 1682, mention is made of a new meeting among the captives of Algiers, where one Friend had appeared as a minister. In every succeeding epistle, until 1692, and in some of a later date, the captives in Barbary are mentioned, and collections for their relief and ransom were made throughout the limits of the Yearly meeting. Some, who joined in profession with Friends during their captivity, shared equally with the others

in the tender care and assistance of the body. The last of them were redeemed in 1702.¹

The settlement of Friends in the New World is an important and interesting portion of their history. Wherever they became numerous, they exercised a most salutary influence on the character, habits, and legislation of the colonies. In Rhode Island, New Jersey, North Carolina, and more especially in Pennsylvania, they secured by justice and kindness the good-will of the aborigines, and established amicable relations with them, that were maintained as long as the colonists continued to be governed by the same peaceable principles. Their liberal views in relation to freedom of conscience were far in advance of the age; for they did not think it sufficient, in their legislation, to grant a mere toleration to those who differed from them in doctrine and worship: they maintained that God only is the sovereign of conscience, and therefore they established its freedom as the inherent right of all.

Their views in relation to the punishment and prevention of crime, were in accordance with the benevolent dictates of Christianity. The reformation of criminals, no less than the protection of society, should be the object of punitive justice; but, under the barbarous code then existing throughout Europe, vengeance seemed to be the main object in view, and public executions were fearfully numerous. "They weakly err," observes William Penn, "who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it." To provide the means of a good education for every child; and to

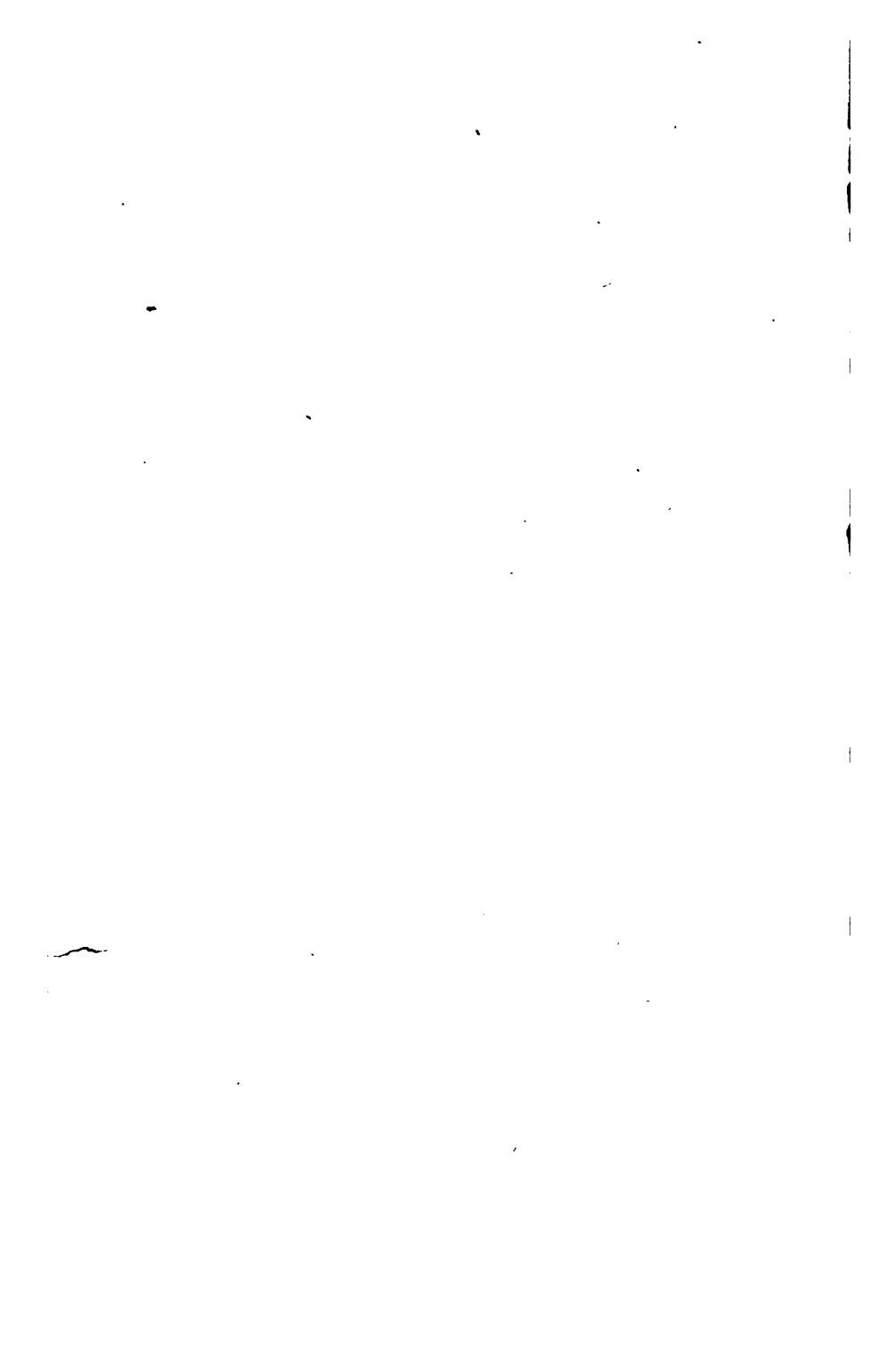
¹ London Epistle. The ransom of seven Friends, including one from Pennsylvania, cost £480 sterling.

see that all are taught some good trade or profession, would do more for the promotion of peace and happiness than all the machinery of courts and prisons.

The principles that actuated the Friends who emigrated to Pennsylvania and the other American provinces, are set forth in a cotemporary publication, called the Planter's Speech. "The motives," he says, "of our retreating to these new habitations I apprehend to have been, the desire of a peaceable life, where we might worship God and obey his law with freedom, according to the dictates of the divine principle." . . . "Our business, therefore, in this new land, is, not so much to build houses and establish factories, and promote trade and manufactures, that may enrich themselves, (though all these things, in their due place, are not to be neglected,) as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in; to lay such lasting frames and foundations of temperance and virtue as may support the superstructure of our future happiness, both in this and the other world."¹

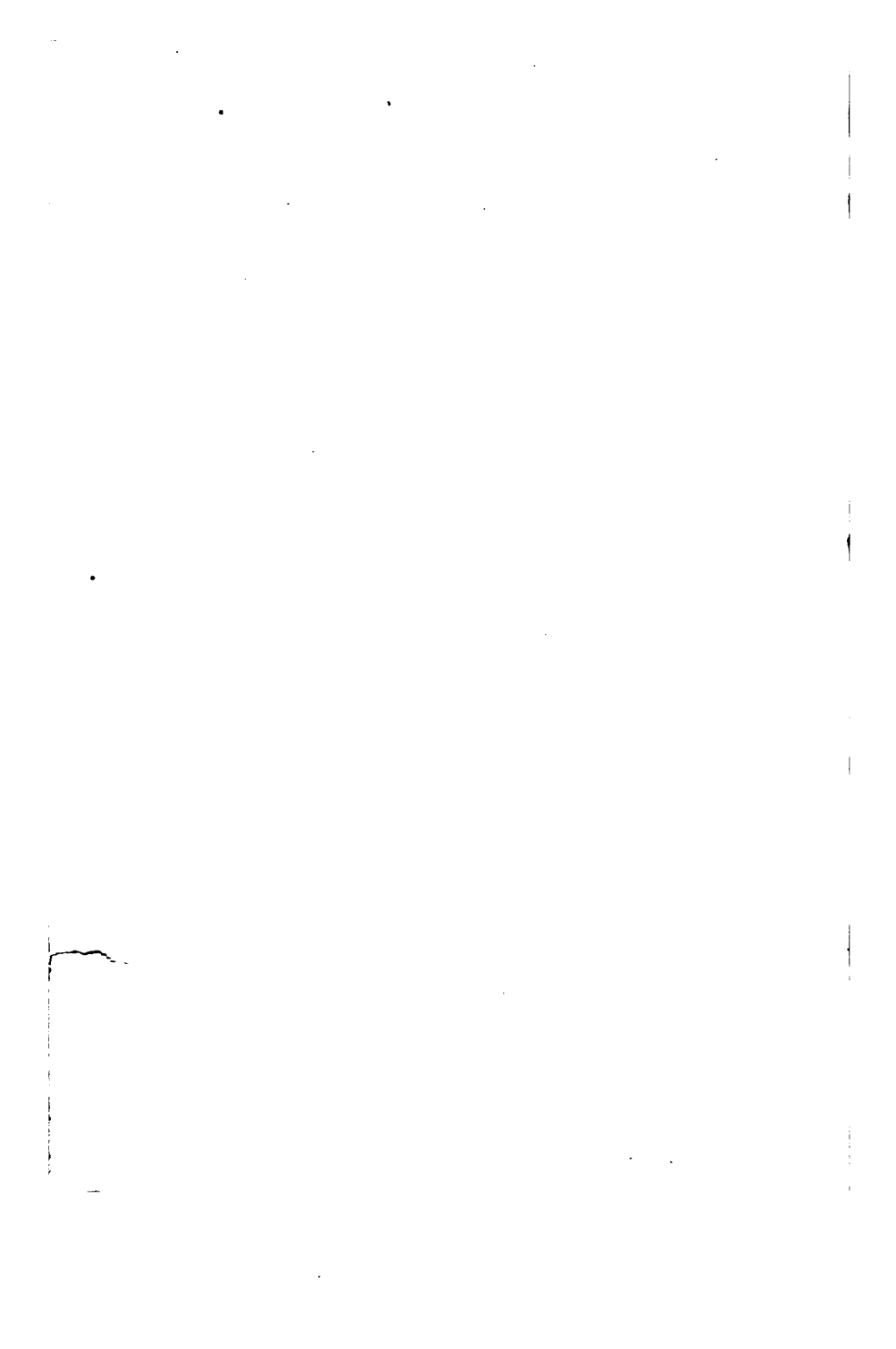
Up to this period, it appears that Friends, both in Europe and America, had nobly fulfilled their mission; bearing witness to the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit, the peaceable nature of Christ's kingdom, and the universal brotherhood of man. These sublime doctrines of Christianity they exemplified by meekness and holiness, not being overcome of evil, but overcoming evil with good.

¹ Proud's Hist. of Pa., I. 226.



A P P E N D I X.

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APPENDIX.

*For the governor of Barbadoes, with his council and assembly,
and all others in power, both civil and military, in this island,
from the people called Quakers.*

WHEREAS, many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us, to render us odious, as that *we do deny God and Christ Jesus*, and the Scriptures of Truth, etc. This is to inform you that all our books and declarations, which, for these many years, have been published to the world, do clearly testify the contrary. Yet, notwithstanding, for your satisfaction, we do now plainly and sincerely declare, that we do own and believe in God, the only wise, omnipotent, and everlasting God, who is the Creator of all things, both in heaven and in earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made; who is God over all, blessed forever; to whom be all honor and glory, dominion, praise, and thanksgiving, both now and forevermore! And we do own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only-begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him. And we do own and believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. And that he was crucified for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; and that he was buried and rose again the third day, by the power of his Father, for our justification; and we do believe that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we do believe that there is no other foundation to be laid, but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who we believe tasted death for every man, and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins; and

not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. According as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world," John 1 : 29. We believe that he alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the captain of our salvation (who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works); who is the seed of the woman that bruised the serpent's head, to wit : Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last. That he is (as the Scriptures of Truth say of him), our wisdom and righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we may be saved. It is he alone who is the shepherd and bishop of our souls; he it is who is our prophet, whom Moses long since testified of, saying, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you: and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people," Acts 2 : 22, 23. He it is that is now come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true; and he rules in our hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death, and we have no life but by him, for he is the quickening spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven; by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works, to serve the living God. And he is our mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending; he being the oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace and power, the author and finisher of our faith. Now this Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly man, the Emanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; him whom the high priest raged against, and said he had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and the elders of the Jews took council together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him, as a reward for his treason; who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach an horrible lie, namely, that his disciples came and stole him away by night whilst they slept. And after he was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the Apostles sets forth how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus for preaching Christ and his resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

And as concerning the Holy Scriptures, we do believe that they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who (as the Scripture itself declares, 2 Pet. 1 : 21), spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled (he that fulfills them is Christ); and they "are

profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works," 2 Tim. 3:16; and are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. And we do believe that the Holy Scriptures are the words of God; for it is said in Exodus 20:1, "God spake all these words, saying," etc., meaning the ten commandments, given forth upon Mount Sinai. And in Rev. 22:18, saith John, "I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book; if any man addeth unto these, and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy" (not the word), etc. So in Luke 1:20, "Because thou believest not my words." And so in John 5:47; John 15:7; John 14:23; and John 12:47. So that we call the Holy Scriptures, as Christ and the Apostles called them, and holy men of old called them, viz., the words of God.

Another slander and lie they have cast upon us, namely, that we teach the negroes to rebel; a thing we utterly abhor and detest in our hearts, the Lord knows it, who is the searcher of all hearts, and knows all things, and so can witness and testify for us, that this is a most abominable untruth. For that which we have spoken to them, is to exhort and admonish them to be sober, to fear God, to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their master's service and business; and then their masters and overseers would love them, and deal kindly and gently with them. And that they should not beat their wives, nor the wives their husbands; neither should the men have many wives. And that they should not steal, nor be drunk, nor commit adultery, nor fornication, nor curse, nor swear, nor lie, nor give bad words to one another, nor to any one else; for there is something in them, that tells them they should not practise those, nor any other evils. But if they, notwithstanding, should do them, then we let them know there are but two ways, the one that leads to heaven, where the righteous go; and the other that leads to hell, where the wicked and debauched, whoremongers and adulterers, murderers and liars, go. To the one, the Lord will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;" but to the other, he will say, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels;" so the wicked go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal. Matth. 25. Now, consider Friends, it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for some others to do it in his behalf; but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them, Abraham and Joshua did so: of the first, we read, the Lord said, Gen 18:19, "I know that Abraham will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do

justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him." And the latter, we read, said, Josh. 24: 25, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." We do declare that we do esteem it a duty incumbent upon us to pray with and for, to teach, instruct and admonish, those in and belonging to our families; this being a command of the Lord, the disobedience whereunto will provoke the Lord's displeasure, as may be seen in Jer. 10: 25, "Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name." Now, negroes, tawnies, Indians, make up a very great part of the families in this island; for whom an account will be required by him, who comes to judge both quick and dead, at the great day of judgment, when every one shall be rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil. At that day, I say, of the resurrection both of the good and of the bad, of the just and the unjust, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe in that day. 2 Thess. 1: 8, etc.; see also 2 Pet. 3: 8, etc.

This wicked slander (of our endeavoring to make the negroes rebel), our adversaries took occasion to raise, from our having had some meetings amongst the negroes; for we, and other Friends, had several meetings with them in divers plantations, wherein we exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety, and to be subject to their masters and governors; which was altogether contrary to what our envious adversaries maliciously suggested against us.¹

¹ Journal of G. Fox, London Ed., 1694.

